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THE GLOBAL EYE

DUTCH, SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE MAPS IN THE
COLLECTIONS OF THE GRAND DUKE COSIMO III DE' MEDICI





Catalogue of the exhibition held at Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence
from 7 November 2019 to 29 May 2020.



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with contributions by

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PREFACE

I was very keen to accept the proposal I received from Angelo Cattaneo (University of Groningen and CHAM, FCSH, Universidade Nova de Lisboa) and Sabrina Corbellini (University of Groningen) to hold an exhibition of the ‘Carte di Castello’, the collection of maps and views formerly housed in the Villa Medicea di Castello and transferred to the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in 1921.

They were displayed in a specially created room until 1996, but were lacking in detailed descriptions. Some had been loaned to Italian and foreign institutions for exhibitions held over the years and were the only ones that had been described in any depth.

The catalogue accompanying this exhibition features for the first time colour images of all the maps, each one accompanied by a detailed description with information about the places depicted and the contents of the captions that, when present, provide a comprehensive explanation.

The catalogue also contains a number of essays that explore the history of the maps from the moment they were purchased by Cosimo III all the way through to their arrival at the Laurenziana.

The catalogue has been published by Mandragora and the CHAM-Centro de Humanidades (Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa e Universidade dos Açores) with the support of the Accademia della Crusca, the Centro Interuniversitario di Studi di Storia Globale GLOBHIS (Università di Firenze, Trieste, Piemonte Orientale e Toscana) and the University of Groningen.

Due to restricted space, only a selection of the maps are on display in the exhibition, but another fourteen can be viewed and localized on a touchscreen and the entire collection features on the website developed by the University of Groningen <www.theglobaleye.edu>.

Furthermore, to mark the opening of the exhibition, an international conference will be held in Florence from 6–8 November, organized by NIKI (Nederlands Interuniversitair Kunsthistorisch Instituut), the University of Groningen and the Accademia della Crusca. The conference will explore the history of cultural, economic and political relations between Tuscany and the Netherlands in the 17th century.

The exhibition, catalogue and website have been curated by Angelo Cattaneo and Sabrina Corbellini, to whom I would like to extend my thanks.

Anna Rita Fantoni
Director, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana

INTRODUCTION

SHARED LEGACIES

During a visit to the Netherlands (between 1667 and 1668), Prince Cosimo III de' Medici purchased sixty-five hand-painted geographical maps and city views from Johannes Vingboons (1616–70), a cartographer and copyist for the Dutch India Companies, through the book dealer and fine arts connoisseur Pieter Blaeu (1636–1706) who acted as a go-between. To quote the travel journal written by Marquess Filippo Corsini, “they showed the plans of various ports, cities, fortresses and coasts of both the East and West Indies”, from the coasts of the American continent to the west and east coasts of Africa, the Indian Ocean, the seas of South East Asia, the Philippines, Japan and ‘New Spain’, on the other side of the Pacific. Two years later, during a second and longer European journey that took him to Portugal, Spain, England, Ireland, France and back to the Netherlands again, having arrived in Lisbon in February 1669, Cosimo acted through the Portuguese mathematician and cosmographer Luís Serrão Pimentel (1613–79) to purchase copies of nautical charts featuring large-scale illustrations of the coasts of Africa, Persia and the Indian subcontinent, from the Cape of Good Hope to the Strait of Malacca.

The connected global world of the mid-17th century is taking shape through the lenses of Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish cartography and landscapes. After being taken back to Florence, all documented traces of them were lost for over a century. Nevertheless, during the Lorraine era, the inventories of the Villa di Castello show that the maps were to be found in the library of Grand Duke Peter Leopold from at least 1785. They were framed and displayed on the walls in the Villa Medicea di Castello, one of the Medici family's oldest suburban residences, where they remained until around 1920. When the Savoy family left the home, the maps were taken to the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana and have since then been identified as the Carte di Castello.

The Medici and Lorraine Carte di Castello collection, now at the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, clearly reveals the remarkable circulation of men and knowledge between the Netherlands, Portugal and Tuscany during the early modern era. This is an important cultural legacy that has not yet been adequately explored. When looking through the maps, formerly all displayed on the walls of the Villa di Castello, the whole world unfolds before us as it was perceived in the Netherlands, Portugal and Tuscany in around the mid-17th century. The collection presented here also provides an understanding of an ‘exceptional’ circumstance in Cosimo III’s biography. Cosimo’s travel journals, the Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian visual sources and the material objects conserved in the Florentine collections, project the story of the future grand duke’s early formative years onto the stage of European and global history. By placing itself in the perspective of a historiographical reassessment of Cosimo III’s reign, inaugurated thirty years ago by Franco Angiolini, Vieri Becagli and Marcello Verga (see *La Toscana* 1993), this research can balance out the historiographical focus that concentrates primarily on the ‘Tuscan’ Cosimo III. It enables us to understand and contextualize some of his initiatives designed to promote a more ambitious and international cultural and financial approach.

EXHIBITION PROJECT

In order to study and promote this shared Dutch, Portuguese and Florentine cultural heritage, which can only be understood, reevaluated and appreciated by adopting a multicultural and multimedia approach, we created a consortium that brought together the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, the NIKI-Nederlands Interuniversitair Kunsthistorisch Instituut, the University of Groningen, the CHAM-Centro de Humanidades della Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa (NOVA\FCSH), the Accademia della Crusca, the Centro Interuniversitario di Studi di Storia Globale GLOBHIS (Università di Firenze, Trieste, Piemonte Orientale e Toscana), the Polo Museale della Toscana and the Archivio di Stato di Firenze. The synergies and complementary knowledge and expertise offered by these cultural institutions in Italy, the Netherlands and Portugal made it possible to organize the exhibition, the catalogue, the digital repository and the international conference. Starting with the study and reevaluation of the Carte di Castello, these integrated initiatives are exploring and researching the complex dynamics of the connected world of the mid-17th century, with particular emphasis on the history of cultural, financial and political relations between Tuscany, the Netherlands and Portugal.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROJECT

The catalogue for “The Global Eye” exhibition sets out to present, describe and reproduce the Carte di Castello collection in full colour and in its entirety for the first time, accompanying the reproductions with a description and analysis of the visual and textual material, together with an Italian and English translation of the Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese titles and detailed references to the contents of the keys.

The description and localization of the individual places and regions represented in the Carte di Castello are accompanied by detailed reflections on the significance of the places shown and their role within global economic networks and in world history during the premodern era. An essential part of this analysis involves critical reflection on the forms of representation and the global views that take to Portuguese, Dutch and Spanish cities and territories pervaded by violence and shaped on the basis of European commercial interests.

The contextualization process used to describe the individual maps is completed by a series of essays and entries that introduce Cosimo III and his interest in cosmography, along with his collection of cartographic material. It describes the sources for his collection and the fundamental stopping places on his journey to the Netherlands, reconstructing the presence of the maps acquired in the Netherlands and Portugal in the Villa Medicea di Castello. The link between Cosimo III and the Accademia della Crusca, now housed in the Villa di Castello, is also explored. This link did not come about purely by chance, but has proved to be very interesting, shedding light on the activities and cultural interests of the grand duke, who endorsed the publication of the third edition of the *Vocabolario*, dedicated to him, in 1691.

The catalogue features high-resolution printed reproductions of the entire Carte di Castello corpus. The digital images have been georeferenced and are available via a portal we have developed in partnership with the Department of Digital Humanities at the University of Groningen – <www.theglobaleye.edu> –, financed by the university and also accessible through the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana institutional website. The site will make it possible to incorporate the entire Castello corpus within the broader digital repertoire of the *Atlas of Mutual Heritage* – <<http://www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/en/>>. The *Atlas of Mutual Heritage* is the result of the partnership between the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed in Amersfoort, the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague and the Nationaal Archief in The Hague. It proved to be an invaluable resource for our research, making it possible to geolocalize, view, contextualize and compare the maps by Vingboons in the National Archive in The Hague (and in some cases in Vienna, in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek),

within the extremely broad context of the visual documentation produced in the Netherlands from the mid-16th century onwards.

The volume comprises three complementary sections. The first is made up of four essays. The first of these, by Sabrina Corbellini, contextualizes the acquisition of the maps of Dutch provenance during Prince Cosimo III's first journey to the Netherlands. The second, by Angelo Cattaneo, analyses the cultural significance of the Carte di Castello, following two main lines of interpretation: geography and global history during the early modern era. A third essay, by Ilaria Giannotti, explores the exhibition history of the maps in the Villa di Castello from 1785 onwards. Lastly, Anna Rita Fantoni focuses on the arrival of the maps in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in 1921, through to their restoration around 1970. The second part of the book, by Angelo Cattaneo and Sabrina Corbellini, is a *catalogue raisonné* of the Carte di Castello in which each of the eighty-two maps is described and analysed. Lastly, the third part of the volume features nine contributions that add to the documentary context of this study and include: three portraits of Cosimo III at different times in his life (Sandro Bellesi), two commemorative medals of Cosimo III (Alberto Bruschi), an early 17th-century lunette by the Flemish painter Justus van Utens (?–1609) with the depiction of the Villa di Castello and its famous gardens (Marco Mozzo), the journals of Cosimo III's two European journeys in the version attributed to Filippo Corsini, now at the Archivio di Stato in Florence (Fabio D'Angelo), the travel journals in the so-called 'official report' (Eugenia Antonucci) and the one in verse by Giovanni Andrea Moniglia (Silvia Scipioni), both at the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, and, lastly, the third edition of the *Vocabolario della Crusca*, dedicated to Cosimo III (Giovanna Frosini).

THANKS

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the Netherlands: global ambitions and local contexts’, held at the Laurenziana, the NIKI and the Accademia della Crusca to coincide with the opening of the exhibition; the CHAM-Centro de Humanidades della Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa and Universidade dos Açores, particularly the director João Paulo Oliveira Costa and João Luís Lisboa, coordinator of the CHAM ‘Leitura e formas de escrita’ research group, for the generous contribution to the creation and publication of the catalogue; the Centro Interuniversitario di Studi di Storia Globale GLOBHIS (Università di Firenze, Trieste, Piemonte Orientale e Tuscia), particularly the director Rolando Minuti, for their patronage of the catalogue; the Accademia della Crusca, particularly the Academician Paolo d’Achille and the Academician and Secretary Giovanna Frosini, for embracing, supporting and patronizing the catalogue right from the very start; the Polo Museale della Toscana, particularly the director Stefano Casciu and Marco Mozzo, head of gardens at the Giardino della Villa Medicea di Castello, for having embraced and supported the idea of displaying the Carte di Castello in their original setting; lastly, the Archivio di Stato di Firenze, particularly the director Monica Grossi and the head of the Public Relations Office, Francesca Fiori, who embraced and supported the idea of virtually reuniting the Carte di Castello with the accounts of Cosimo III’s travels. The Fundação da Casa de Bragança - Museu-Biblioteca of the Palacio Ducal in Vila Viçosa, Portugal, in the person of the director, Maria de Jesus Monge, and the librarian, Carlos Saramago, has enourmously facilitated our research on the sources of Portuguese maps in the collection of Castello. All of their contributions helped to support and further our work.

Mario Curia, director of Mandragora, and the editors Marco Salucci and Paola Vannucchi, have accompanied and mentored us step by step through our journey of research, writing and immersion into the visual world of the Carte di Castello. We would like to extend our thanks to them.

Florence and Groningen, October 2019
Angelo Cattaneo and Sabrina Corbellini

COSIMO III'S TOUR OF THE NETHERLANDS (1667–8)

Sabrina Corbellini

The young prince Cosimo de' Medici (1642–1723) arrived in the Netherlands on 15 December 1667, having set off from Florence on 22 October the same year, a journey that took him to Innsbruck, Augsburg and Mainz and, following a long journey up the Rhine, to Wesel, Emmerich and Arnhem, the outpost of the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands, in the Gelderland region. After the briefest of stays in Arnhem, which he described as a “city worthy of consideration”,¹ Cosimo and his entourage continued quickly to Vreeswijk, Utrecht and Amsterdam, arguably the main destination on his journey, arriving on 19 December. Cosimo, accompanied by a large entourage including the marquis Filippo Corsini (1647–1706), his secretary Apollonio Bassetti (1631–99), the master of the house Filippo Marchetti, his treasurer Cosimo Prie and his doctor Giovanni Andrea Moniglia (1624–1700) was welcomed into Amsterdam by Francesco Feroni (1614–96), a Florentine banker and ‘highly respected merchant’ who specialized in wheat, slaves and artworks and found success in the Netherlands, and lived by the Keizersgracht canal in the centre of Amsterdam (a “comfortable and respectable lodging”).²

Cosimo's first day in Amsterdam, as described in Filippo Corsini's diary, epitomized perfectly his interests and activities during his long stay in the Netherlands.³ After receiving mass in an antechamber in Feroni's house, Cosimo set off, along with Pieter Blaeu (1637–1706), the heir of the famous family of cartographers,⁴ and Francesco Feroni to the vault of the “Admiralty Palace” (better known as *'s Landts Zeemagazijn*, the Republic's maritime arsenal),⁵ located on a small island opposite the city and reached via a long bridge (fig. 1). Forty warships were docked near the arsenal, having returned from the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665–7), which ended on 31 July 1667 with the signing of the Treaty of Breda. The diary entry emphasizes the Republic's naval power, as symbolized by the ships, and Cosimo showed great interest and admiration in them, expressing

his “huge satisfaction”⁶ at being given the chance to visit three and to admire the sails and munitions in the arsenal. Having left the arsenal, the group went to the Oost-Indisch Huis, the headquarters of the Dutch East India Company (fig. 2), a major focal point for Cosimo’s trip to Amsterdam and crucial for understanding his decision to buy part of the collection of maps produced by Vingboons, the company’s official cartographer. Cosimo is described as almost intoxicated by his visit to the storerooms, which contained “hundreds of casks full of nutmeg”, thousands of casks of pepper, an “infinite number of bales of cinnamon [and] enormous mountains of mace” (a spice extracted from walnut bark), with a practically inestimable value.⁷ It was the spices acquired from the places depicted in the *Carte di Castello* that attracted the attention and curiosity of the young prince, who, in the following days, would return frequently with Blaeu to the Oost-Indisch Huis to visit it at a more leisurely pace and to speak to some of the company’s directors.

Pieter Blaeu played a fundamental role in building a preferential relationship with the company, as well as in acquiring the cartographic materials originally created on the company’s behalf. Indeed, he was not only a key intermediary in the assembly of the *Castello* collection, he also allowed Cosimo to come directly into contact with private collectors who inspired and influenced him profoundly.⁸ It should be noted that the first known activities of Pieter Blaeu, the second son of world-famous printer Joan Blaeu, date back to 1660, when Pieter entered into correspondence with the Florence-based bibliophile Antonio Magliabechi (1633–1714), who was later appointed by Cosimo III as librarian at the Biblioteca Palatina in Florence. The correspondence with Magliabechi, which continued from 1660 to 1705 and was conducted in Italian, shows the strong connection between Blaeu and Italy, as well as Magliabechi’s and Florentine scholars’ interest in the Netherlands, which in that period could have been described as the ‘bookshop of the world’.⁹ Pieter Blaeu’s first shipment, sent on 27 October 1661, a year after his first contact with Magliabechi, as well as books for the Medici family also contained others for the scholar Lorenzo Pucci, the Greek scholar Michele Ermini, the member of the *Accademia della Crusca* Andrea Cavalcanti and the Florentine bookseller Giovanni Gualberto Borghigiani.¹⁰

However, there was also a personal bond between Cosimo and Blaeu that predated Cosimo’s trip to the Netherlands. On 22 April 1667, Blaeu confirmed directly to Cosimo that an order he had placed had been shipped, including *China Illustrata* by Athanasius Kircher (printed in Amsterdam that same year by Janssonius van Waesberge and Elizer Weyerstraten) and an *Atlante marinesco* (Maritime atlas), not identified in any more detail, but described as a highly valuable print, as “there are no others that are either newer or with more precise and accurate maps”.¹¹ Three months later, Blaeu wrote to



1. Abraham Storck, 's Lands Zeemagazijn from the outside, 1675, Amsterdam, Nederlands Scheepvaartmuseum.



2. Headquarters of the Dutch East India Company (Oost-indisch Huis) in Amsterdam, 17th century, Monumentenfotografie, Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, afdeling Gebouwd Erfgoed, ST-685.

Cosimo again, who in the meantime had received the two precious volumes, promising that he would “send as promptly as possible all the new plates and interesting works on nautical topics, new voyages or knowledge gained by travellers and the latest ideas, particularly regarding the countries of East India and the remotest parts of the East”.¹² The letter was accompanied by copies of two newspapers (*La Gazette d’Amsterdam* and *La Gazette Ordinaire d’Amsterdam*) from 13 and 16 June 1667 describing the diplomatic manoeuvres that led to the signing of the Treaty of Breda.¹³ The selection of materials and the focus on these topics was at Cosimo’s explicit request; in a note dated 10 May 1667, he had expressed his gratitude for the “very precise, extensive and very well coloured” atlas, and stated his desire to remain up-to-date with cartographic publications regarding the Indies.¹⁴ During his stay in Amsterdam, Blaeu also offered Cosimo some “books of images that demonstrate the clothes and activities of many Indian, Chinese and Japanese peoples”.¹⁵

The flow of information concerning products from the Indies continued even after Cosimo’s return to Florence. In September 1680, Blaeu sought in vain to purchase rubies from the Dutch East India Company’s headquarters on Cosimo’s behalf, and his disappointment at the difficult transaction was only in part offset by the news of the arrival in Amsterdam of two ships from the East Indies bearing fresh tea and cases of ‘seashells’ and other rare items. A few days later, Blaeu returned to the subject, and described in great detail tasting the tea he made at the company’s headquarters before sending it to Cosimo. This tea had large, yellow leaves, which when immersed in hot water produced a drink “somewhere between green and yellow”, normally drunk “by the Emperor in China”.¹⁶ On 5 January 1691, Blaeu wrote to Cosimo regarding the purchase of ten pounds of “catechu” and various pieces of “gamboge”, which “is made from the juice of a grass, and which comes from the Coromandel [see CdC 11, 70], which when taken with a little candi sugar is an excellent medicine for a sore throat or mouth”.¹⁷ Cosimo was probably also interested in exotic birds, as Blaeu added that the best “cockatoos come from the island of Caram, as well as coming from the islands of Ambon [see CdC 1] and Gorong, in addition to Ternate [see CdC 27] and other nearby islands, and all these are birds that do not tend to shriek either in a room or outdoors”.¹⁸

The relationship between Blaeu and Cosimo became particularly strong during Cosimo’s stay in the Netherlands, and Blaeu offered the prince not only the chance to come directly into contact with the Dutch East India Company’s management, to access its map collection and to purchase a selection of the maps produced by Johannes Vingboons,¹⁹ but also to be received by the burgomasters of the city of Amsterdam and the *Staten Generaal*, the republic’s governing body, in The Hague. On 30 December, after

morning mass, Blaeu accompanied the young Cosimo to the house of Roeter Ernst, who wanted to show him his “cabinet, truly remarkable due to the quality of the minerals, seashells and other rare things from the Indies in large quantities” and then to the Amsterdam Theatre, where the burgomasters had *Medea*, a work by playwright Jan Vos, performed in his honour.²⁰ To overcome his lack of knowledge of Dutch, the scenographers “packed it full of twists, flying and various machines of sky, land and sea created by Medea’s spells, and it was all rather successful”.²¹ Blaeu remained at his side on 5 January 1668 during his reception at the city hall in Dam Square, during which Cosimo had the chance to visit the symbolic building of the Dutch Golden Age and to admire the famous “marble-decorated” floors, in which “one can admire three huge globes, one of which represents the celestial sphere with all its signs [of the zodiac], the other the division of the ancient world, and the final one America”,²² seeing at first hand the global power of the city of Amsterdam and the Dutch Republic.

His stay in Amsterdam also ended on 10 February with an activity organized by Pieter Blaeu: a return visit to ‘s *Landts Zeemagazijn* to see the stash of 4,000 cannons stored in the palace and to admire the warships again. That same evening, Cosimo received a visit from Michiel de Ruyter (1606–76), one of the most famous admirals of the Golden Age and riding high at that moment thanks to his victory in the Raid on the Medway, a key moment in the second naval war between the English and the Dutch (June 1667). De Ruyter managed to sink a good number of English ships during the battle, and captured the HMS Royal Charles, a symbol of English naval prowess, and brought it to the Netherlands.²³ Cosimo had previously met de Ruyter on 27 December 1667, and received a gift from him of a pair of pistols found in the captain of the Royal Charles’ room. Cosimo was particularly impressed by the admiral, and even visited some collections of paintings in the hope of purchasing a portrait.²⁴

Another important travel companion of Cosimo’s was Nicolaas Heinsius (1620–81), a scholar of Latin literature, poet, renowned editor of classical texts and, along with Isaac Vossius (1618–89), the librarian of Christina, Queen of Sweden.²⁵ Heinsius’ interest in classical texts had taken him to Italy several times, including to Florence, where in 1646 he had studied and annotated manuscripts of works by Seneca, Pliny the Elder and Virgil in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. During a second stay, in 1652–3, Heinsius played an even more active role in Florentine cultural life: he visited the libraries of Carlo Strozzi and Jacopo Gaddi, came into contact with Leopoldo de’ Medici and was elected on 11 September 1652 as a member of the Accademia della Crusca.²⁶

Heinsius welcomed Cosimo to Leiden, the home of the first university in the northern Netherlands, founded in 1575 by William of Orange following the liberation of the city

from the Spanish siege.²⁷ The university was a prestigious cultural centre in the Dutch Republic, and boasted a vast library created by William of Orange in the year the institution was founded with the symbolic donation of a copy of the *Biblia polyglotta*, printed in Antwerp by Christopher Plantin. Cosimo's travel journal also stressed the importance of the university, noting that it had over 2,000 students from various countries, as well as fourteen professors working in the various faculties. The university also had its own printing works, run by the Elsevier family, with an impressive six presses running simultaneously. It also mentions the presence of a *hortus botanicus* (botanical garden) and an anatomical theatre, which also contained "mummies and other rare and interesting things".²⁸

On 10 January 1668, Heinsius accompanied Cosimo to the university's auditorium, where he was received by the entire academic staff, the burgomasters and authorities of the city of Leiden and the university's curators, including a representative of the *Staten Generaal* and Cornelis de Witt, burgomaster of Dordrecht and the brother of the *raadspensionaris* ('grand pensionary') Johan de Witt.²⁹ Johann Friedrich Gronov (Gronovius, 1611–71), professor of Greek philology, welcomed him with a speech commending "the restoration of the humanities at the time of Cosimo de' Medici and the learned men that accompany that great prince", as well as praising the beauty of Tuscany.³⁰ Epigrams and odes, written in Cosimo's honour by Heinsius, Gronovius' pupil Petrus Francius and the Latin scholar Borchardus Cnipplingius, were also distributed.³¹ Gronovius' references to Tuscany and Cosimo were definitely not pure rhetoric; the classical philologist was probably one of the first Dutch scholars to visit Florence. He stayed there in 1641, mainly studying manuscripts of Seneca in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, which formed the basis for his edition, published in 1661.³²

Heinsius also accompanied Cosimo on his two trips to The Hague, on 11–14 January and 4–7 February 1668. During the first visit, Cosimo travelled incognito, perhaps so he could observe the 'village' and visit the Binnenhof, the headquarters of the *Staten Generaal* and in part the residence of the *stadhouders* of the House of Orange, without any complications (fig. 3).³³ He paid particular attention to the palace of Prince Maurice of Nassau (still today known as Mauritshuis), which "is known as the 'sugar palace' because it is completely white on the outside – due to the marble – and because it was built using money he brought with him from Brazil".³⁴ Although Maurice explicitly invited him to an official meeting, Cosimo chose instead to meet him in the house of a painter, probably Caspar Netscher (1639–84), who had settled in The Hague in 1662.³⁵ Cosimo did, however, make an official visit to Maurice's residence in February, when he was personally received by "Mr Prince", who showed him "in person eight tapestries covered in animals of every species found in the Indies, sketched in the wild with

impressive accuracy”³⁶ The tapestries were the result of the work of painter and architect Frans Post (1612–80), who had accompanied Maurice to Brazil in 1636 and, on his return to The Hague, was given the task of decorating the “sugar palace” with images inspired by Brazilian landscapes.³⁷

Cosimo’s relationship with Maurice went up a level in the evening, when Cosimo was invited to attend a dance organized by and featuring the prince of Orange, William III (who was appointed *stadhouder* in 1672). Treated as the guest of honour, Cosimo attended a “short, extremely precise dance featuring 24 people, including the prince of Orange himself, dressed lavishly in Ancient Roman style with highly decadent clothes and extremely delicate ornaments comprising silk cloths and feathers”³⁸ and engaged in conversation with some of the ladies present. This meeting with the ladies of The Hague seems to have made a big impression on Cosimo, who a few days later (12 February 1668) asked Heinsius to send him portraits of five of these ladies, explaining his desire to take their portraits to Tuscany “as proof of the beauty [he had] admired in noble women”.³⁹ The task of paying for the paintings and organising their subsequent shipping to Tuscany was entrusted to Francesco Feroni, the Florentine merchant who had hosted him during his stay in Amsterdam, and with whom Cosimo retained a close relationship, eventually appointing him “depository general”, one of the key roles in the grand duke’s court. Feroni, born in Empoli, Tuscany in 1614, had already demonstrated his managerial qualities. After a career as a representative of the Buonaccorsi family of Florentine bankers in Amsterdam, he built up a highly prosperous trading business and earned the trust of the Dutch West India Company, which employed him as a middle-man in various situations.⁴⁰

Cosimo’s admiration for the House of Orange also emerges from his visit to the funerary monument (a “magnificent tomb”) of William of Orange in Delft, described in meticulous detail in his travel journal, which also reports *verbatim* the long epitaph that celebrates the actions of the “man responsible for the revolt of the United Provinces against the Spanish”.⁴¹ The tomb of Maarten Tromp, the Dutch admiral famous for defeating the Spanish fleet in 1639, a key event in the Netherlands establishing itself as a major power, received similar attention.⁴² In Delft, famous for its textile market and beer production, Cosimo visited the premises of the India Company (“large quantities of spices and other goods from those areas”) and porcelain shops “of which there are a great number”.⁴³

Although the focus of the trip was clearly the commercial and political considerations of the Dutch Republic, Cosimo also had the opportunity to visit the workshops of various painters and draughtsmen during his stay in the Netherlands, and to buy paintings for the grand duchy’s collection. In the first few days after his arrival in Amsterdam, Co-



3. *The Binnenhof*, early 18th century, Veenhuizen NCRD, Nationaal Gevangenis museum.

simo visited the workshop of Willem van de Velde the Elder (1611–93), a drawer who specialized in seascapes, whose works were again presented by Blaeu and Feroni on 29 December 1667, alongside works by Rembrandt and an unidentified painter renowned for his marine landscapes. Blaeu and Feroni took Cosimo to see various private collections so he could examine other works by the same painters, although the visits did not immediately lead to purchasing any works by Rembrandt (1606–69) or Van de Velde.⁴⁴ Cosimo also saw works by Willem Van Aelst (1625–83; a flower and still life painter) and his student Maria van Oosterwijck (1630–93), “who perhaps outshone him in floral painting”.⁴⁵ The only purchase recorded in Cosimo’s travel accounts for 1667–8 is a painting by Jan van der Heyden (1637–1712) depicting the city hall in Dam Square, “with a view of the building and a vista of the square”.⁴⁶ It was purchased on 5 January 1668, on the day Cosimo was received by the burgomasters of the city of Amsterdam. That same morning, Cosimo also received a gift from Johannes Uytenbogaert, the ‘receiver’ responsible for the republic’s finances in the Holland region: a “highly esteemed [book] of sketches of Mogor with two coins and a dagger from that region”, probably a book of images of India.⁴⁷

These two items, the view of Dam Square and the illustrated book, perfectly summarize the two key aspects of Cosimo’s Dutch trip: interest in the administrative and political structure of the United Provinces and curiosity about the global 17th-century world.

1 Hoogewerff 1919, p. 27: “città di considerazione”.

2 Ibid., p. 40: “commode e onorevole ospizio”; see also Cools 2006; Wagenaar 2014, pp. 51–3.

3 Hoogewerff 1919, pp. 41–5; Wagenaar 2014, pp. 53–7.

4 See the essay by Angelo Cattaneo in this volume, pp. 19–43.

5 Hoogewerff 1919, p. 274: “palazzo dell’Ammiraltà”. Since 1973, the arsenal has been home to the National Maritime Museum.

6 Ibid., p. 41: “somma sodisfazione”.

7 Ibid., p. 43: “centinaia di botti piene di noce moscade ... infinito numero di balle di cannella, monti grandissimi di macis”.

8 See the essay by Angelo Cattaneo in this volume, pp. 19–43.

9 The correspondence between Blaeu and Magliabechi, Blaeu and Leopoldo de’ Medici and Blaeu and Cosimo III was published in Mirto–Van Veen 1993. The phrase ‘bookshop of the world’ is taken from the title of the work by Pettegree–Der Weduwen 2019. Cosimo visited the Blaeu family’s printing works on the Bloemgracht canal in Amsterdam on 21 December 1667.

10 See Mirto–Van Veen 1993, p. 30.

11 Cited in *ibid.*, p. 299: “non si trovano altri, che siano più nuovi né con carte più esatte, et accurate”. Kircher’s book was particularly important for Cosimo, who, in a note dated 4 April 1667, urged Blaeu to send it, having learned that the printing of the volume was complete.

12 Ibid.: “inviare con ogni puntualità dovuta tutte le tavole nuove, et opere curiose, che trattano materie

di nautica, di viaggi nuovi, o di cognizioni pellegrine, e recenti, particolarmente sopra i Paesi dell’India Orientale e delle parti più remote di Levante”.

13 A newspaper bearing the news of the peace treaty was sent in a subsequent letter, dated 9 September 1667 (see *ibid.*, p. 300).

14 Ibid., p. 313: “assai esatto e copioso et l’ornamento de i colori”.

15 Hoogewerff 1919, p. 67: “libri d’imagini, che dimostrano gli abiti e azzioni di molti popoli indiani, chinesi e giapponesi”.

16 Mirto–Van Veen 1993, p. 302: “tra il verde e il giallo ... [bevuto] dall’imperatore in Sina”.

17 Ibid., pp. 309–10: “catto ... gotegambe ... vien fatto dal succo d’una herba, e che viene da Corman-del, che preso con un poco di zucaro candito è ottima medicina per il male della gola o bocca”.

18 Ibid., p. 310: “cacatoie vengono dall’isola di Caram, che pure ne vengono dalle isole di Amboina e Goram, come pure di Ternate et altre isole ivi vicine che non sogliono tanto gridare quando sono in una camera che quando sono nella aria aperta”.

19 See the essay by Angelo Cattaneo in this volume, pp. 19–43.

20 Hoogewerff 1919, pp. 69, 71: “gabbinetto veramente considerabile per la qualità delle pietre minerali, conchiglie, nicchj e altre cose rare dell’Indie in gran numero”. Jan Vos (1612–67), as well as being a playwright, was also director of the Amsterdam Theatre, a permanent company of actors founded in 1637.

21 Ibid., p. 71: “la resero copiosa d’accidenti, voli e macchine diverse di cielo, terra e mare, alle quali diedero luogo l’incanti di Medea, e riescì il tutto assai bene”.

22 Ibid., p. 85: “intarsiati di marmi ... tre vastissimi globi si mirano, l’uno de’ quali l’orbe celeste con tutti i suoi segni dimostra, l’altro la divisione del mondo antico, e l’ultimo di essi l’America”.

23 Ibid., p. 143.

24 Ibid., p. 76.

25 Cosimo met Isaac Vossius on 14 January 1668 and had the opportunity to visit his collection of Arabic manuscripts. Vossius’ collection is now held in Leiden University Library (Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden). Vossius visited Florence in 1642, where he focused on studying manuscripts held at the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana and signed partnership agreements with Paganino Gaudenzio and Giovan Battista Doni.

26 See Van Veen–McCormick 1984, pp. 29–30. For information on Heinsius’ election as a member of the Accademia della Crusca, see also the webpage <<http://www.accademicidellacrusca.org/scheda?IDN=1770>>.

27 Before setting off for Leiden, Heinsius and Cosimo exchanged letters wishing each other a happy New Year; Heinsius included a short poem in honour of Cosimo. See Hoogewerff 1919, pp. 337–9.

28 Ibid., p. 102: “mummie et altre cose rare e curiose”.

29 This information is contained within the reports sent by his secretary Apollonio Bassetti to the court of Florence during his trip to the Netherlands. See Ibid., p. 173. Cosimo also met Johan de Witt

in The Hague, as proven by a letter sent by Cosimo to De Witt on 15 May 1668 to thank him for his hospitality in the Netherlands. See Ibid., p. 365. The brothers Cornelis and Johan de Witt are key figures in Dutch history. They were assassinated in The Hague on 20 August 1672, a year known as the *rampjaar* (‘disaster year’), following one of the republic’s rockiest periods.

30 Ibid., p. 105: “la restaurazione delle lettere umane al tempo di Cosimo de’ Medici e gl’ huomini letterati condotti da quel gran principe”.

31 Ibid., pp. 104–5. As a sign of his gratitude, Cosimo gave a ring to Gronovius at the end of his welcome speech, for which he received a letter of thanks on 10 February 1668. The Dutch poet Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687) also dedicated a poem in Latin to Cosimo, playing on the theme of ‘Cosimo-Cosmo-Cosmographus’. See Ibid., p. 350.

32 See Van Veen–McCormick 1984, p. 28. Gronovius worked in Florence with Jacopo Gaddi and Pietro Vettori.

33 As Cosimo explained in his travel journal, The Hague could not be considered a city, “as it is not surrounded by walls of any sort” (Hoogewerff 1919, p. 107). The Hague only received city status in 1806.

34 Ibid., p. 109: “per essere tutto bianco al di fuori – a causa de’ marmi – e per essere stato fabbricato de’ denari portati da esso dal Brasile, vien chiamato il palazzo di zucchero”. John Maurice van Nassau-Siegen (1604–79) was the governor of Dutch Brazil until 1644, and so was known as ‘the Brazilian’. The name of his residence refers to the wealth he accumulated through his sugar cane plantations (see CdC 32, 44, 45 and 53 for the maps relating to Brazil).

35 Ibid., p. 110; see also Wagenaar 2014, p. 107.

36 Hoogewerff 1919, p. 195: “Signor Principe ... [mostrò] da se stesso gli arazzi, che sono otto pezzi, ripieni di tutti gli animali d’ogni specie, che fanno delle indie, travagliati al naturale con singolare esattezza”. The ethnographic and natural history collection, collected mainly in Brazil, was particularly famous, and was regularly visited by foreign guests.

37 See Wagenaar 2014, p. 144. Frans Post’s decorations were lost during a fire in 1704. However, the images can be reconstructed thanks to cartoons of the decorations, donated by Maurice to the king of France, Louis XIV.

38 Hoogewerff 1919, p. 135: “un balletto in 24, fra’ quali era l’istesso principe d’Oranges, vestiti riccamente all’uso antico romano con abiti assai ricchi e svolazzi in testa di tocche e penne con somma leggiadria e benissimo regolato”. The prince of Orange is described as “endowed with gallantry, beauty and confidence”. On 15 May 1668, Cosimo sent a letter to William III thanking him for the honours he received. See *ibid.*, p. 368, which also reproduces William’s reply to Cosimo. Cosimo and William III exchanged a number of letters over the following years, after Cosimo’s return to Florence. For example, Cosimo asked for William’s help in recovering various goods transported on an English ship from Constantinople, which had been hijacked by Zeelandic pirates.

39 Ibid., p. 340: “per saggio della bellezza che [aveva] ammirata in cotesta nobiltà”.

40 See Cools 2006. Feroni, who died in Florence, was buried in 1696 in the family chapel in the church of the Santissima Annunziata in the city.

41 Hoogewerff 1919, p. 114: “autore della rivolta delle Provincie Unite dalli Spagnuoli”.

42 Ibid., pp. 115–6.

43 Ibid., p. 117: “gran quantità di droghe et altre merci di quelle parti ... [e negozi di porcellane] delle quali in grand’abbondanza si provvede”.

44 Ibid., pp. 55, 59, 66, 67.

45 Ibid., p. 65: “che in genere di fiori forse lo superava”; see also Wagenaar 2014, pp. 72–3. Willem van Aelst also worked in Italy between 1646 and 1656, and attended the court of Ferdinand II in Florence. The Galleria degli Uffizi contains two works by Van Aelst and a painting by Maria van Oosterwijck.

46 See Hoogewerff 1919, p. 82: “con la prospettiva del palazzo e veduta della piazza”; Wagenaar 2014, pp. 84–5. The painting is now kept at the Galleria degli Uffizi and the recorded date of purchase is indeed 5 January 1668. Apparently the perspective of the painting was not perfect, and so the painter sent a lens so the dome of the building could be viewed with the correct perspective. During his second trip to the Netherlands (1668–9) Cosimo purchased paintings by Frans van Mieris the Elder (1635–81) and Gerard Dou (1613–75).

47 Hoogewerff 1919, p. 83.

COSIMO III AND THE GLOBAL WORLD OF THE MID-17TH CENTURY THROUGH THE CARTE DI CASTELLO COLLECTION

Angelo Cattaneo

The Carte di Castello are a collection of eighty-two maps of coastal and island regions, vistas and city plans, particularly of port cities, spread across four continents: Africa, North and South America, Asia and even Oceania. The maps, which also include four unique ethnographic depictions of the Khoekhoe (literally ‘true men’), an ethnic group from south-western Africa, based near the Cape of Good Hope,¹ were purchased by Prince Cosimo III de’ Medici (1642–1723; fig. 1), the eldest son of the grand duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand II, on two consecutive journeys to Europe between May 1667 and November 1669, in the years immediately preceding his ascent to the Tuscan throne in May 1670.

Sixty-five of the eighty-two maps were purchased in Amsterdam in December 1667, brokered by the book trader, publisher and *connaissance des beaux-arts* Pieter Blaeu (1636–1706) during an initial trip to Tyrol, Germany and the Netherlands from 22 October 1667 to 12 May 1668. The remaining seventeen, meanwhile, were commissioned and bought in Lisbon, most probably brokered by the mathematician, architect and cosmographer Luís Serrão Pimentel (1613–79), *Cosmógrafo Mor* and *Engenheiro Mor de Portugal* (head cosmographer and engineer of Portugal), between 10 and 17 February 1669, during a second, longer journey around Europe, which took in Spain, Portugal, England, Ireland, the Netherlands and France, and lasted from 18 September 1668 until 1 November 1669.

The purchase of the first group of maps is mentioned in a passage from the travel journal of marquis Filippo Corsini, who accompanied Cosimo, who recalls that on the evening of 21 December

At 24 hours [6 PM] His Highness returned home and spent the evening with Blaeu, looking at some geographical maps, drawn and illustrated with exceptional taste, which he had bought from him, and which featured the plans of various ports, cities, fortresses and coasts of both the East and West Indies; and from the merchant he had visited that same day [Cosimo had also] bought various small artefacts from the Indies, such as pictures, vases, utensils, objects and spices.²

During his stay in Amsterdam, Pieter Blaeu (fig. 2), son of the famous cartographer Joan Blaeu (1596–1673), who published the *Atlas maior* in eleven volumes between 1662 and 1665,³ took Cosimo to visit the family printshop and to meet some important collectors of cartographic documents, as well as *naturalia* and *artificialia* (natural and man-made artefacts) from the East and West Indies. These figures introduced him to and showed him the large quantity of hand-drawn maps, paintings and ethnographic materials created by the two Dutch companies trading in the Indies, the VOC (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, or Dutch East India Company, founded in 1602 and operational in the Indian Ocean and the seas of south-east Asia) and the WIC (West-Indische Compagnie, the Dutch West India Company, founded in 1621 and operational in the Atlantic Ocean, between the coasts of Africa and South, Central and North America).

A particularly significant date was 2 January 1668, when Cosimo visited the important private map collection of Amsterdam-based lawyer Laurens van der Hem (1621–78). Van der Hem had commissioned and assembled his own personal edition of the *Atlas maior* which, as well as the printed maps published by Joan Blaeu, included a huge number of hand-drawn and watercolour maps, drawings and views of cities, with a total of over 2,400 documents in forty-six volumes (currently held at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna).⁴ Cosimo's interest in the Indies, in Dutch trading companies – and the VOC in particular, whose headquarters and port he had the opportunity to visit – and in *naturalia* (particularly stones, shells and spices) and *artificialia* from far-off continents is a recurring theme in Corsini's travel diary, widely discussed and commented on.⁵ The purchase of “plans of various ports, cities, fortresses and coasts of the East and West Indies” stemmed both from this interest and from his unrealized ambition, previously held by his ancestors, from Cosimo II (the fourth grand duke of Tuscany from 1609 to 1621) to Ferdinand II, his father (grand duke from 1621 to 1670), to launch commercial operations that would bring the Grand Duchy of Tuscany into the global trading networks of Portugal and, in the case of Cosimo III, the Netherlands.



1. Gerard ter Borch, *Portrait of Cosimo III de' Medici in armour*, c. 1670, Deventer (Holland), Vereniging de Waag.



2. Wallerant Vaillant, *Portrait of Pieter Blaeu*, 1671, Luxembourg, Van Limburg-Stirum Collection.

Cosimo was intrigued and captivated by the vast collections of maps and *exotica* (or *galanterie* in 17th-century Tuscan dialect) in the residences of the rich aristocrats he visited with Blaeu, especially in Amsterdam. These collections not only reflected the global outlook of the Netherlands, pursued through its trading companies, but also highlighted the widespread wealth this was generating. A detailed explanation is beyond the scope of this essay, but suffice to say that economic and financial power was shifting towards northern Europe and the Iberian empires, leading to a switch in tastes and in collecting practices. Moreover, the Prince had grown up in palaces where his ancestors had created exemplary, renowned spaces for collecting and displaying *naturalia* and *artificialia*: for example, the so-called Sala delle Carte Geografiche, the old Guardaroba Medicea in Palazzo Vecchio, fitted out for Cosimo I by Giorgio Vasari and court cosmographer Egnazio Danti.⁶ Cosimo was keen to study the collecting habits and aristocratic collections in Amsterdam due to their extremely wide scope, incorporating places that had become inaccessible from Florence.

The VOC and WIC were equipped with centres for producing maps and images in Amsterdam and in Batavia, which until 1706 remained under the supervision of the Blaeu family.⁷ At the time when Cosimo visited the VOC, a significant proportion of the reproduction of the maps, and particularly the painted vistas of Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish colonial coasts and cities, carried out entirely by hand, was entrusted to Johannes Vingboons (c. 1616–70) and his workshop in Amsterdam, which he ran with his brothers, predominantly the architects, draughtsmen and painters Philips Vingboons (1607–78) and Justus Vingboons (c. 1620–98).⁸ These were confidential cartographic materials which, in contrast to those destined for the profitable European and global printed map market, managed by the Blaeu dynasty and other printers in the United Netherlands, circulated in just a few hand-drawn copies, often painted with watercolours (figs. 3–4).⁹ With sophisticated and instantly recognisable graphical and stylistic features, combined with a technique and taste for miniaturist painting, Johannes Vingboons copied images and cartographic materials that arrived in Amsterdam from all over the colonial world: the Antilles, the coasts of North, Central and South America (including New Spain and Portuguese Brazil), central Atlantic Africa and the Cape of Good Hope, India, Sri Lanka, ‘Ilha Formosa’ (present-day Taiwan), Malacca, the Maluku Islands and the Banda Islands, and other seaports in Indonesia, the Philippines and Japan.¹⁰ These maps, extremely diverse in terms of their authorship, contents, cartographic and graphical symbols, origin and function, were all reproduced by Vingboons, often in the original language. They included, for example, the extremely accurate Dutch nautical maps of the Banda Islands, featuring seabed



depth measurements and the administrative divisions of the land for cultivating nutmeg (CdC 15); the famous plan of ‘Amsterdam in Nieuw Neederlandt’, present-day New York, drawn just before it was ceded to the English, with the properties of the 324 families that lived there (CdC 18); Spanish maps, like the highly detailed plans of Mexico City (CdC 42) and Manila (CdC 22); and finally Portuguese maps, like those of the bays of Rio de Janeiro and Espírito Santo, highlighting the military infrastructure (CdC 32 and 45) and probably created to assist the Dutch fleets of the WIC in their attempts to conquer them.¹¹

Vingboons, a cartographer, copyist and cabinet painter, who always used the same layout and set of map symbols, created collections of aesthetically striking maps and paintings, which can be divided into four specific types. The first, chorographic maps, present the coastal profiles of cities observed from a bird’s eye view from a high point in the middle of the sea, generally the anchor point: the depiction of Ambon (CdC 1) and the views of Malacca (CdC 46) and Mocha (CdC 23) are memorable examples of this type (fig. 5).

Then there are the detailed plans of cities or entire archipelagos with a planning, administrative or military aim: these include the plan of Mexico City (CdC 43) and Elmina Castle, used to imprison slaves (CdC 25), the aforementioned plan of New York (CdC 18), and plans of Macau (CdC 16), probably drawn for the failed takeover attempt in

3. Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, Elmina, Ghana, c. 1665, Carte di Castello 25.

4. Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, Elmina, Ghana, c. 1665, The Hague, Nationaal Archief, 4.VELH0619.77.

1619, Bantam on western Java (CdC 3) and Fort Victoria on Ambon (CdC 13), not to mention the extraordinary axonometric plan of Osaka Castle (CdC 8).

A third group comprises painted vistas of fortresses, representing the principal, often overlapping, hubs of global Portuguese, Dutch and Spanish commercial networks, on the coasts of the four continents. Examples of this third type are the views of Fort Zeelandia on the island of Formosa (CdC 33), Fort Nassau on the coast of Guinea (fig. 6), the fortress/prison of Arguin, in an inlet on the coast of present-day Mauritania (CdC 34 and 65) and Elmina Castle on the 'Gold Coast' in what is now southern Ghana (CdC 57). It should be remembered that in Africa and on the coasts of what was called 'Nueva Granada', in present-day Colombia and Venezuela, where Santa Marta (CdC 10) and Cartagena de Indias (CdC 14) are located, the fortresses were in reality prisons built to hold African slaves, plundered and bought by the Portuguese and later by the Dutch, brokered by certain African populations and Muslim slave traffickers, before being forcibly shipped to the American colonies.

Finally, there is a fourth type, comprising nautical maps showing stretches of continental coastline, islands and archipelagos involved in the global trading networks of the VOC and WIC in the seas of south-east Asia and the Atlantic respectively. These were created in the context of attempted military conquests or following the capture of the strongholds of the spice, gold and silver, textile and slave trades of the Iberian empires in the Antilles, on the continental coasts of the Caribbean Sea, in the Gulf of

5. Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, Mocha, Yemen, before 1667, Carte di Castello 23.

6. Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, Fort Nassau, Ghana, before 1667, Carte di Castello 19.





7. Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, Banda Islands, Indonesia, c. 1660, Carte di Castello 15.

Guinea, in the seas of south-east Asia, and Indonesia in particular, and in the Maluku Islands. Some examples of this type are the two maps of the coasts of Japan, from Nagasaki to Edo, present-day Tokyo (CdC 4 and 5), the map of the Banda Islands, part of the Maluku Islands (fig. 7), São Tomé (CdC 17), the bay of ‘Manatus’, now home to Manhattan (CdC 26), and numerous maps of the island of Hispaniola, now Haiti (for example CdC 42 and 49).

It is possible to extrapolate a group of sixteen similar maps (CdC 61–3, 65–78) of Portuguese origin bought in Lisbon, probably in February 1669, during Prince Cosimo’s second European trip. In this regard, one of the diaries describing the prince of Tuscany’s travels, the version attributed to Count Lorenzo Magalotti,¹² reports that on 10 February 1669, while in Lisbon, “[His Highness], having returned home, spent the evening with a Portuguese mathematician, who took him to see a rather large book containing a report of things from the Indies, with maps of the fortresses built in those parts by a Viceroy”.¹³

The mathematician referred to is Luís Serrão Pimentel.¹⁴ Pimentel was a military architect and cosmographer famous throughout Europe, who, in the years following Prince Cosimo's trip to Portugal, gave him gifts of handwritten and printed copies of his work and that of renowned mathematician Pedro Nunes (1502–78), currently held in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence.¹⁵

The “rather large book containing a report of things from the Indies, with maps of the fortresses built in those parts by a Viceroy”,¹⁶ meanwhile, can be identified as a codex from a corpus of illustrated manuscripts describing all of Portugal's colonial cities and possessions in Africa and Asia, for which the *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental*, created by António Bocarro (1594–1642?) and Pedro Barreto de Resende (?–1651) and held in the Biblioteca Pública de Évora in Portugal, is a prototype. In 1632, António Bocarro was commissioned by Miguel de Noronha, Count of Linhares and ‘Viceroy of India’, to write a detailed textual description of the territories and numerous coastal cities of Portuguese India for King Philip III of Portugal. Pedro Barreto de Resende, the viceroy's secretary, illustrated the codex with forty-eight images of forts, city plans, various types of ship and examples of Asian flora.¹⁷ The manuscript was later copied multiple times, expanded and adapted, with additions and alterations, and was used as a model for a copy currently held in the Biblioteca del Paço Ducal in Vila Viçosa, Portugal (shelf mark Res. 21), from which the sixteen Carte di Castello that Cosimo III acquired were taken. It is a luxurious manuscript, illustrated with 104 watercolour maps, entitled *Livro das plantas das fortalezas cidades e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental*, and is probably the same codex that Pimentel showed to Cosimo.¹⁸

Unlike the Dutch maps, the purchase of which is documented in Cosimo's travel journals, there is no record of the acquisition of the Portuguese documents. However, comparing the sixteen Portuguese maps and the corresponding maps in the Vila Viçosa manuscript leaves no doubt at all as to their provenance (figs. 8–9). The maps now in Florence were reproduced very faithfully from the manuscript in the Library of the Ducal Palace of Vila Viçosa. Furthermore, the obvious Italianisms in the transcription of titles and place names (for example ‘Lorenzo’ instead of ‘Laurenço’, see CdC 77) suggests they were the work of a copyist of Italian origin.

The group of Portuguese maps combines three types of document: highly detailed large-scale nautical and topographical maps of stretches of African coastline, from the Cape of Good Hope up towards the Horn of Africa, as well as the Strait of Malacca to the east; two medium-scale geographical maps, the first of the northern coasts of the western basin of the Indian Ocean, near the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and the



second of the Bay of Bengal; and finally two plans of the cities of Malacca and Kollam in the state of Kerala in India. Despite the clear difference in the cartographic symbols and stylistic features between the maps of Dutch origin, in Vingboons' style, and the Portuguese maps from the *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas*, the visions of the colonial world the two sets describe are very similar, if not identical.

RETICULAR AND INSULAR COLONIAL SPACES

The Carte di Castello show that between the 16th and 18th century the Portuguese, and later the Dutch, expansion in Africa and Asia was based on a reticular maritime space, with practically no territorial development inland. This space was formed from a series of interconnected commercial networks and networks of colonial power, with small, or relatively small, intersections: port cities, fortified storehouses/prisons, fortresses and mooring points, spread among the conquered or partially occupied islands and archipelagos.¹⁹ The maritime routes that met at these points connected local trade with regional, continental and, in some cases, oceanic/transcontinental commerce, thus laying the foundations for long-term processes of globalisation, which are therefore not the exclusive preserve of the contemporary world.²⁰ Taking Malacca (CdC 46, 63, 72, 74) and Macau (CdC 16) as an example, these two colonial port cities were connected with the corresponding nearby coastal and inland regions, Indonesia, Java and

8. Coast by the Cape of Good Hope, c. 1669, Carte di Castello 67.

9. Coast by the Cape of Good Hope, c. 1650, Vila Viçosa, Biblioteca do Paço Ducal, Res 21, no. 8.

China; with many ports on the Spice Islands, i.e. the Maluku Islands, and the Indian subcontinent, the Philippines and Japan; and finally, through Goa and Manila, with Europe and the New World.²¹ On the American continent, where inland areas were taken over, the mesh-like division of space, based on major hubs such as Hispaniola, Veracruz, Santa Marta, Cartagena de Indias, Recife, Salvador, Rio de Janeiro and Espírito Santo, to cite just some of the locations found in the Castello collection, was used to connect trade with the cities inland.

When, in around 1630, the royal administration of Portuguese India and the management of the Dutch East India Company and Dutch West India Company, each with their own conflicting initiatives, started to systematically map the colonies for administrative, military or tax purposes or for the symbolic appropriation of their overseas territories, they set in motion a gradual process of reducing the world to image form for the purpose of controlling it intellectually. This involved numerous disciplines and techniques – cartography, drawing and linguistics, as well as collecting, describing and exhibiting *naturalia* and *artificialia* – all seeking to measure, depict and organize the world intellectually and encyclopaedically.²² Analysing this process by studying the ‘secret’ maps of the VOC and WIC – secret, as stated above, in the sense that they were not destined for printing – and the administrative investigations conducted for the Portuguese crown in Africa and Portuguese Asia, it emerges that the port cities and fortresses, even those not located on islands, were thought of, depicted and experienced as insular spaces. The port cities and forts that were conquered or founded and added to trading networks were imagined, and indeed depicted, as islands.²³

The Carte di Castello’s presentation of the world implicitly uses the cartographic and pictorial semiosis of ‘insulars’. Insulars, collections or atlases of islands (covering the Aegean, the Mediterranean, the *oikumene*, the inhabited world, or the entire planet) are a type of map and publication with ancient and mediaeval roots that developed and became popular in the early Renaissance, with works focusing on the Aegean Sea by the Florentine Cristoforo Buondelmonte (c. 1420), followed by the *Insularium illustratum* by Henricus Martellus Germanus (c. 1490) and the *Isolario* by the Venetian miniaturist, engraver and cartographer Benedetto Bordone (1528).²⁴ These paradigmatic works reveal a way of thinking about and structuring space based on a very specific mosaic technique that developed in direct opposition to and concurrently with the synoptic and all-encompassing planispheres, like those printed and sold by the Blaeu printing works at the time the Carte di Castello were being produced.²⁵ Planispheres, and the *mappae mundi* that preceded them, convey a universal perception of the *oikumene* and the globe, in which the general engenders the specific. From the

insular viewpoint, the world is built and emerges from the juxtaposition of numerous specific and individual *loci* – the islands, either real or places erroneously considered and depicted as such, like many of the fortified storehouses or fortresses in Africa, Asia and America – irregular tiles that when spread out across the seas form a mosaic of the maritime world, connected by trade. In this case, the underlying compositional and geographical logic is the opposite of the planispheres: the specific, through pairing, juxtaposition and integration, generates the world in its totality.²⁶ This is a very selective and intrinsically violent way of seeing the world: everything not connected to trade and colonial interests – including civilisations and cultures dating back millennia – is excluded, and doesn't count. The colonial and imperialist viewpoint develops, and is therefore founded on, a paradox that generates violence: the universal ambition (supposedly encyclopaedic in cartographic representation, like in the *Carte di Castello*, but also in the depiction of botany, zoology and landscapes²⁷) reflects, and indeed includes, only that which is within the scope and interests of the colonial power, something grasped and explained by Edward W. Said in his much-debated concept of orientalism.²⁸

Understanding the dominant insular dimension of the European colonial conquests in the early modern age is fundamental if we are to fight the rigid and simplistic historical analysis that interprets the European empires on a continental scale – for instance using 'Europe-Asia' or 'Europe-Africa' as the point of historical observation and analysis – and thereby anachronistically imposes categories and spaces of analysis that only came into operation at the end of the 18th century, with the sole exception, significant but not generalisable, of the American continent.²⁹ Analysing the *Carte di Castello* and the larger Dutch and Portuguese corpora from which the maps were derived highlights the strategic importance of insular places that, while located in seas and regions with huge distances between them, shared the fundamental characteristic of being interconnected. In some cases, these places, which the *Carte di Castello* often depict at the moment they were founded or claimed, have turned into the main global cities of the contemporary global world (New York, Rio de Janeiro, Cape Town, Osaka, Tokyo, Taiwan, Mexico City and Manila, for example); many other places, so crucial in transcontinental shipping in the early modern age (such as Malacca, Macau, the Caribbean ports and the fortresses/prisons of sub-Saharan Africa) have lost their centrality, and indeed are disconnected from the trade networks that led to the construction of today's globalized world. In some cases, violent colonial dynamics caused them to go from places of central importance for the global economy to places marked by extreme poverty (such as Hispaniola, present-day Haiti). Overall, analysing the *Carte di*

Castello allows one to grasp on the one hand, dialectically, the crucial role of modern history as the moment of the foundation and development of a vision of history and the world,³⁰ and, on the other hand, it highlights the importance of cartography as a form of writing, representation and colonial appropriation of the planet.

BEYOND 'COSIMO/COSMOS'

Prince Cosimo's name, a clear tribute and reference to the Medici family tree – from Cosimo the Elder, *pater familias*, to Cosimo I, the founder of the grand duchy, to Cosimo II – continued the common theme of the family's self-celebration, which started with the conquering of Siena by Cosimo I in 1559.

The victory parade for the entrance of the grand duke and his wife Eleanor of Toledo into Siena on 28 October 1560 included a temporary triumphal arch with a large globe bearing the now famous Greek inscription 'Kosmos Kosmou Kosmos', meaning 'Cosmos, Cosimo's world'. Antonio Francesco Cirni, one of the Medici's courtiers and a witness to the event, interpreted it as follows: "they mean that Duke Cosimo honours the world, and the world honours him, or indeed that the world is Cosimo's and Cosimo is of the world".³¹ This iconography was inspired by and recalled the symbols of the Roman empire, from those used by Emperor Augustus to those of Charles V, a contemporary of Cosimo's, who died in 1558.

The Medici coat of arms on a globe with a crown above and the same motto below was adopted as a printer's mark by the Florence-based Giunti publishers, as seen on the frontispiece of Johannes de Sacrobosco's treatise *De sphaera* in the Italian translation edited by Egnazio Danti.

Through the efforts of Giorgio Vasari, Vincenzo Borghini and Giambattista Andreani, with cosmographic assistance from Miniato Pitti and Egnazio Danti, Cosimo I highlighted his power by focusing on areas with universal and cosmic meanings. The statue of *Cosimo I as Augustus* that Vincenzo Danti was commissioned to create for the facade of the Uffizi, now held in the Museo del Bargello³² and, particularly the Guardaroba Nuova in Palazzo Vecchio (fig. 10) epitomize this trend. The complex scenographic and cosmographic layout of the Guardaroba was designed around 1560, during the final decade of Cosimo I's rule. Vasari, Cosimo I, Pitti and Andreani developed the design of an encyclopaedic and holistic depiction of the cosmos and the history of humanity, arranged and staged in the palace of the 'Demiurge Prince' and framed geographically by Ptolemaic maps of the entire globe, painted by Egnazio Danti, Vincenzo's brother, on the doors of the wardrobes in the room, by an enormous globe – the largest ever constructed – in the centre of the room, prepared by Danti in 1569, by a planetary clock



10. Sala delle Carte Geografiche in Palazzo Vecchio with the Ptolemaic maps painted by Egnazio Danti and Stefano Bonsignori, and Danti's globe, Florence, Palazzo Vecchio.



11. Virtual reconstruction of the Sala della Cosmografia in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, by Filippo Camerota, realized by the Multimedia Laboratory of the Museo Galileo, Florence.

built by Lorenzo della Volpaia and by a vast collection of *naturalia* and *artificialia*. The original, visionary project, described by Vasari in his biography of sculptor Vincenzo Danti, involved, as well as the paintings inspired by Ptolemy's *Geography*,³³ not one but two globes, one of the earth and one of the heavens, which were to be hung from the ceiling and moved up or down using equipment taken from the world of the theatre.³⁴ The project was never finished, and Cosimo I's complex *theatrum cosmographicum* soon lost its meaning.³⁵

A few decades later, beginning in 1587, Ferdinand I, having replaced his brother Francesco I on the Tuscan throne, along with his cosmographers, Antonio Lupicini and Antonio Santucci, abandoned Cosimo I's plan to organize an encyclopaedic collection of *naturalia* or *artificialia* framed within a complex (and unfeasible) cosmography, and instead gathered together a collection of instruments in two specially prepared rooms at the Uffizi: the Sala delle Matematiche, with globes, clocks, measuring devices, maps and scientific books, and the Sala della Cosmografia, which placed the

prince – and therefore, implicitly, mankind – at the centre of the exhibition as an observer and surveyor of nature (fig. 11).³⁶

Although, like his father, the grand duke was inspired by Ptolemaic cosmography, he commissioned exhibition spaces that were conceptually simpler and easier to understand. The Sala della Cosmografia contained Danti's globe and an enormous self-propelled armillary sphere, more than three metres tall, built by Santucci (and currently on display at the Museo Galileo in Florence), while the walls were decorated with large frescoes of the Florentine dominion (730 × 320 cm), the territories of Siena (600 × 320 cm) and the island of Elba, all painted in 1589 by Ludovico Buti, with assistance from Stefano Bonsignori. Universal cartography (Danti's globe) was thus paired with chorography (the depiction of the territories of the grand duchy), in the framework of a cosmic depiction of the Aristotelian/Ptolemaic universe (the armillary sphere). The latter was built by expanding the model Santucci had made in 1582 and that Ferdinand, then cardinal, had sent as a gift to Philip II of Spain. The founding of the grand duchy, through the conquering of Siena and its territories, was therefore placed in an ecumenical and cosmic context.³⁷

The 'Cosmos/Cosimo' theme was returned to again on the occasion of Cosimo III's marriage to Marguerite Louise d'Orléans in 1661. In a booklet to mark the occasion entitled *Il mondo festeggiante* (The celebrating world) by Alessandro Carducci and Domenico Anglesi, with texts by Alessandro Segni and Giovanni Andrea Moniglia, which describes the public festivities in the Boboli Gardens (at what is now Palazzo Pitti), an etching shows a dance on horseback entitled 'The Appearance of the Most Serene Prince of Tuscany as Hercules, Accompanied by Carriages of the Sun and the Moon, and followed by Riders from Europe, America, Asia and Africa in the Party on Horseback held for the Royal Wedding of His Most Serene Highness'.³⁸ An enormous Atlas holds the celestial sphere aloft, while carriages and riders representing the continents and planets act out complex dances.

While the 'Cosmos/Cosimo' theme and the cosmographic outlook of the grand duchy still played a role in the Medici court, the Carte di Castello tell an altogether different story. The "geographical maps, drawn and illuminated with exceptional taste" acquired in the Netherlands, and those purchased in Lisbon, did not celebrate either the demiurge prince or the conquests of the grand duchy or the Medici household. If anything, they reminded the prince and his court that economic and financial power no longer flowed through Florence, and hadn't for some time. Until the mid-16th century, and perhaps even a few years later, Florence's banks, merchants and commercial and financial institutions, active across Europe, had continued to invest in and launch commercial ven-

tures in Asia and the New World.³⁹ A century later, Cosimo III was well aware of the distance between the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and the other European kingdoms and the larger colonial economic networks they had forged. To understand and depict the world one had to look at it through a Dutch, Portuguese or Spanish lens; this is one of the underlying meanings of the *Carte di Castello*.

1 The Khoekhoe were onomatopoeically and derogatorily called 'Hottentots' by the Dutch, meaning stutterers; see CdC 79–82.

2 Hoogewerff 1919, p. 46: "Alle 24 tornò S. A. a casa e passò la veglia col Blaeu vedendo alcune carte di geografia disegnate e miniate con isquisitezza non ordinaria, che da esso gl'erano state fatte comprare, e dimostravano le piante di diversi porti, città, fortezze e coste dell'Indie tanto orientali che occidentali, e dal mercante dove s'era il giorno trattenuto varie galanterie pur dell'Indie, come figure, vasi, strumenti, robe e droghe di quelle parti". Hoogewerff transcribed and collated some of the main manuscripts containing Cosimo's travel journals: that of the marquis Filippo Corsini and the diary written by the doctor Cosimo Prié, ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 6387 (another copy: Carte Stroziane, series I, 57) and 6384.

3 For information on Blaeu's famous atlases, which culminated in the publishing of the monumental *Theatrum orbis terrarum sive Atlas Novus...* (subsequently known as the *Atlas maior*), see Van der Krogt 2000.

4 "[On 2 January 1668], once Blaeu had arrived, he decided to go to the house of the lawyer Wandren

[Laurens Van der Hem] to see an office with a large display of drawings of various cities, coasts and places from the Indies, brilliantly illustrated, and other universal and specific geographical maps, drawn by hand with every form of refinement imaginable" (Hoogewerff 1919, p. 76). For information on Van der Hem's map collection, see the eight volumes of the *Atlas Blaeu*, edited by Peter van der Krogt and published between 1996 and 2008. In particular, for the so-called 'Secret atlas of the VOC', containing maps very similar to those purchased by Cosimo III, see volume five (2005). For a cultural biography of Van der Hem, see De Groot 2006.

5 See the essay by Sabrina Corbellini in this volume, pp. 11–18.

6 See *La sala delle carte geografiche* 2007; Cattaneo 2010; Rosen 2015.

7 See Zandvliet 2007.

8 See Gosselink 2007, pp. 27–39.

9 For information on the production and highly profitable trade in cartographic materials at a global scale in the Dutch Republic, see Zandvliet 1998. For details on the main centres of production and trade in maps in the Netherlands, see Koeman *et al.* 2007.

10 See Zandvliet 2007. For the routes taken by the fleets of the VOC and WIC, see Parthesius 2010, pp. 31–123.

11 For a detailed overview of the significant hand-drawn reproduction of maps that can be traced back to Johannes Vingboons, see (under the relevant heading) the web portal *Atlas of Mutual Heritage* (<<http://www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl>>), the result of a partnership between the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed in Amersfoort, the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague and the Nationaal Archief in The Hague. See also Van der Krogt 2005, Gosselink 2007 and Wieder 1925–33.

12 The diary is taken from the monumental Mediceo Palatino 123 codex, in two volumes, held at the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, which contains hundreds of drawings, mostly attributed to architect and painter Pier Maria Baldi (c. 1630–86), who accompanied Cosimo on his travels; see the entry by Eugenia Antonucci, pp. 218–20.

13 *Viaje de Cosme* 1933, p. 280: "[Cosimo] tornato a casa, passò la veglia con un mattematico portoghese, che lo portò a far vedere un libro assai grande contenente relazione delle cose dell'Indie con le

piante di quelle fortezze fatto fare in quelle parti da un Viceré". The curators Angel Sanchez Rivero and Angela Mariutti de Sanchez Rivero transcribed the first volume of the Mediceo Palatino 123 manuscript.

14 For information on the relationship between Pimentel and Cosimo III, see Martins Ferreira 2009, pp. 93–6; see also Radulet 2003.

15 Pedro Nunes, *Alcune dimostrazioni in difesa della sua dottrina lossodromica...*, MS, 16th century, BNCF, Palatino 825 donated to Cosimo III by Luís Serrão Pimentel; Luís Serrão Pimentel, [Miscellany of works of military architecture and fortifications, translated and dedicated to Cosimo III], MS, after 1680, 17th century, BNCF, Palatino 910.

16 *Viaje de Cosme* 1933, p. 280.

17 MS, c. 1635, Biblioteca Pública de Évora, BPE CXV / 2-1, with 48 watercolour maps and drawings. A high-resolution digitalized copy can be browsed on the website of the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal: <<http://purl.pt/27184>>.

18 See PMC 1960, V, pp. 73–8.

19 For details on Portugal's empire-building, see Chaudhuri 1985; Godinho 1991; Thomaz 1994; *Historia* 1997. For Dutch global hegemony in the 17th century, in the context of the economy and world of the first modern age, see Prakash 2014; Wallerstein 1980, ed. 2011, pp. 36–72.

20 Compare this with the retrospective viewpoint of Casti 2015. Simplifying for reasons of space, the variables that changed are globalisation's operating time, which speeds up exponentially in the shift from the modern to the contemporary age, and the number of places involved in the process: points in mesh-like spaces expand to cover the entire surface of the globe.

21 See Flynn–Giraldez 1996; Curvelo 2008, pp. 351–493; Borschberg 2010; Pinto 2012; Cattaneo

2014. For details on the global routes, including via Macau, that brought silver from South America (via Manila), Japan (via Macau) and central Europe, see Flynn–Lee 2013.

22 See Schmidt 2015, pp. 227–35. For information on the role of images in science in the early modern age, see *The Power of Images* 2003 and Kusukawa 2011.

23 The colonisation of the 'ocean sea' from the 15th century onwards, beginning in the Mediterranean, was based on the bringing together of insular spaces along the coastlines of Africa and then in the Indian Ocean. These dynamics also applied to Western navigation, from Columbus onwards. See the research by Fonseca 1999.

24 See Gentile 1991; Tolia 2007.

25 For a study of the philosophy and phenomenology of islands as a tool and a way of thinking, see *Le temps de l'île* 2019 and the exhibition of the same name curated by them in 2019 at the MUCEM in Marseille.

26 See Farinelli 2014 and the theoretical reflections in Casti 2016.

27 See Bleichmar 2012.

28 This is a reference to the large, fertile debate on orientalism (Said 1978 and subsequent reprints); most recently *The Dialectics of Orientalism* 2018.

29 See Clavin 2010; Benton 2006. For the related history of the early modern age, see Subrahmanyam 2014.

30 For information on the colonisation of the world's time and space by European powers from the 16th century onwards, see Gruzinski 2015.

31 Cirni 1560, pp. [15–6]: "significano che il Duca Cosimo honora il mondo, e 'l mondo lui, o vero, che 'l mondo è di Cosimo et egli di lui". The pages of the original print are not numbered.

32 See Crum 1989.

33 For details on the reception in Florence, in Latin and in the vernacular, of this work by the geographer from Alexandria Claudius Ptolemy (2nd century AD), initially translated into Italian as *Cosmographia*, see Gautier Dalché 2007.

34 Vasari 1568, ed. De Vere 1996, II, pp. 892–3. See also Cattaneo 2010.

35 Nevertheless, Vasari's literary and adulatory description continues to work its magic, particularly among art historians: *The Marvel of Maps*, *La sala delle carte geografiche in Palazzo Vecchio* "capriccio et invenzione nata dal Duca Cosimo" ["The Sala delle Carte Geografiche in Palazzo Vecchio "whimsy and invention from Duke Cosimo"], and *The Mapping of Power in Renaissance Italy* are the pretentious and often misleading titles of the most recent research into the 'Sala delle Carte Geografiche' in Palazzo Vecchio (which never actually existed). See *La sala delle carte geografiche* 2007; Rosen 2015.

36 See Camerota 2008; Cattaneo 2010.

37 The two rooms mostly retained their original appearance, as designed by Ferdinand, until 1704, when the instruments in the Stanzone delle Matematiche were transferred to the Sala della Cosmografia, where they were kept in three large specially built chests of drawers against the walls. The larger instruments were placed in the centre of the room, next to Danti's globe, Santucci's sphere and two new armillary spheres depicting Copernicus' heliocentric system and the combined system devised by Tycho Brahe. In 1775 the room, which since 1704 had been known as the Sala della Matematica, was dismantled definitively, and the entire collection of instruments was gradually moved to the new Museo di Fisica in Palazzo Torrigiani, which is now Museo La Specola, next to Palazzo Pitti. See Camerota 2008.

38 Moniglia 1661 first edition, p. 16 onwards.

39 See Brege 2014; Guidi Bruscoli 2017 and 2018.

COSIMO III DE' MEDICI'S MAPS AT VILLA DI CASTELLO

Ilaria Giannotti

Recent research conducted into Cosimo III de' Medici's maps has revealed when and how the future grand duke of Tuscany acquired them, as well as their date and origin. Currently, however, we do not know anything about when, where or how the collection, comprising seventy-eight geographical and four ethnographic maps, was (presumably) used to furnish one of the many Medici residences. Although their initial location following their transfer to Florence in 1667 is not known, it has been established that they were kept for over 100 years in Villa di Castello, the collection's final home before its definitive transfer to the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

Analysis of the inventory numbers written on the maps' original mounts and research carried out into the inventories at Villa di Castello have allowed an (albeit incomplete) reconstruction of the history of the collection between 1785, the year in which they were recorded at the residence for the first time, and 1921, when they were moved to their current location. Various numbers were found painted on the back of the original frames, now held at the convent of Santa Maria Maddalena in Caldine, both on the canvases and on the upper and lower crosspieces of the wooden frame, corresponding to the inventory numbers assigned to the maps in the villa's stocktaking operations between 1785 and 1911.¹ A different colour was chosen for each number, based on the inventory to which it referred: black struck through with black for the 1785² and 1802 inventories,³ black struck through with yellow for 1815,⁴ yellow struck through with black for 1852,⁵ black struck through with pink for 1860,⁶ and pink for the 1911 inventory (fig. 1).⁷

Comparing the descriptions in the inventory and the numbers written on the mounts confirms that the entire collection was found in Villa di Castello and its outbuildings



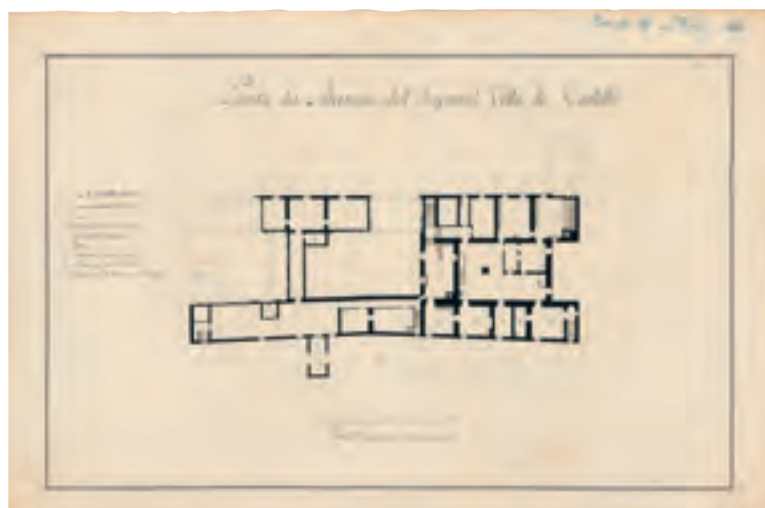
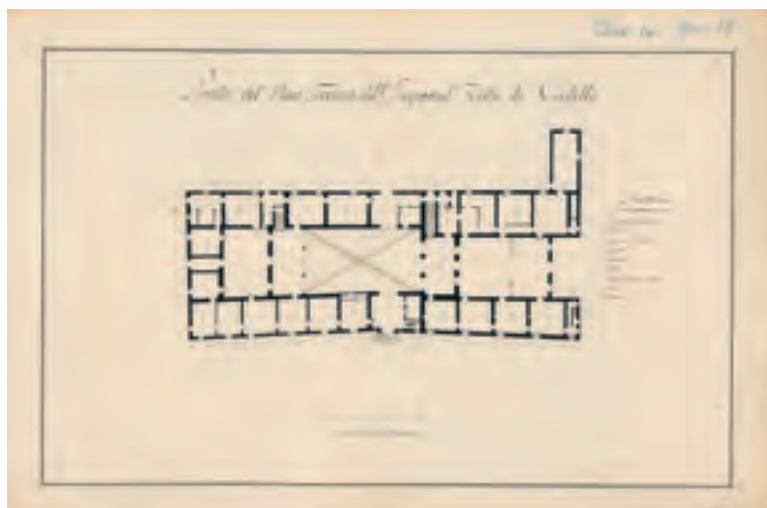
1. Back of the frame of the Carta di Castello 4, with inventory numbers written on the canvas and frame. Caldine (Florence), Convent of Santa Maria Maddalena, in storage.

from 1815 onwards. Furthermore, analysis of the inventories reveals that at least seventy-nine maps were already in the residence in 1785. The remaining three (CdC 36, 40 and 78)⁸ do not have inventory numbers referring to that year, and so it was not possible to confirm their presence in the residence, and therefore establish whether or not the full collection was found in the villa in the late 18th century. However, the grand-ducal stamp of Peter Leopold of Lorraine (1747–92, grand duke from 1765 to 1790) was identified on the recto of two of them, a seal also found on another sixty-four maps in the collection. Given this information, it seems plausible that all eighty-two maps were displayed in the residence and its annexes during Peter Leopold's reign. Further confirmation of this hypothesis can be found in the inventories drawn up in 1676⁹ and 1761,¹⁰ the latter updated until 1781, which record thirteen and twenty-one maps respectively, none of which are linked to Cosimo III de' Medici's collection.

The maps were therefore presumably transferred to the residence, chosen by Peter Leopold of Lorraine "as a convenient place for holidaying and pleasure"¹¹, between 1781 and 1785, following the completion of the major modernisation work started in the 1770s. The villa, already owned by the Medici family and adored by Cosimo III de' Medici, who commissioned the erection of the Stufa dei Mugherini in the garden, was at the time in a state of serious decay and complete abandonment due to poor management in the early years of the House of Lorraine.¹² Major maintenance and restoration work was carried out at the request of the new grand duke of Tuscany, and, with new furnishings brought in, the existing furniture and artworks were reor-

ganized in the same period, with the majority of the latter transferred to the Galleria degli Uffizi.¹³ These initial, purely functional operations were followed by structural work, both in the residence itself and in its outbuildings, such as the Reali Scuderie, the Casa del Guardaroba, or ‘dello Steccuto’, and Villa La Querciola, as well as the renovation of the villa’s garden. As reported in a ‘Note of the works to be carried out at Castello’ drawn up between 1782 and 1783, the work was completed by architect Bernardo Fallani and foreman Vincenzo Martelli, in partnership with the wardrobe master (*Guardaroba*) Lorenzo Masini and farmer Mr. Cecconi.¹⁴ The architect meticulously followed the ‘Points for the Builder to follow at Castello’, written by the sovereign himself, when renovating the residence and its annexes. The structural changes demanded by the grand duke are clearly apparent when one compares the plans of the residence in the anonymous register entitled ‘HRH’s Villas and Farms’ (1770–80), now held in the National Archives in Prague, where the residence appears practically unchanged from the appearance it was given by the Medici family, with the late 18th-century plans held in the Archive of the Municipality of Florence. The changes were particularly significant on the ground floor of the villa, where new spaces were added: in the northern wing a new room was attached to the existing building, while two new rooms were built adjacent to the sitting room in the western wing, with a large terrace in the same location on the main floor. The layout of the rooms was altered at the same time, most notably on the ground floor, where the kitchen and service rooms at the north of the building were reduced in size and changed their use, as they had to serve “the section of the villa used by Their Royal Highnesses, as well as the two rooms in the corners, alongside the garden”. For the residence’s outbuildings, meanwhile, the majority of the work focused on the Scuderie Reali, a building constructed from scratch with a huge number of rooms spread across two floors, including some with stone fireplaces.¹⁵ It was in the context of this renovation, in the early 1780s, that Cosimo III de’ Medici’s maps were put on display, having arrived at the villa along with the sovereign’s newly chosen furniture. Mentioned generically in the 1785 inventory as maps of various islands and countries, with views of various ports, fortresses and seas, or as ‘maps depicting Moors’, framed with ‘green-painted batons’ and sometimes embellished with a green ribbon, the maps were displayed on the ground floor of the villa and in its basements, in the Scuderie Reali and Casa del Guardaroba.

From the descriptions in the inventory of the furniture and artworks, divided up based on their location in the rooms, one can pinpoint the exact location of the seventy-nine maps identified during the stocktaking operations.



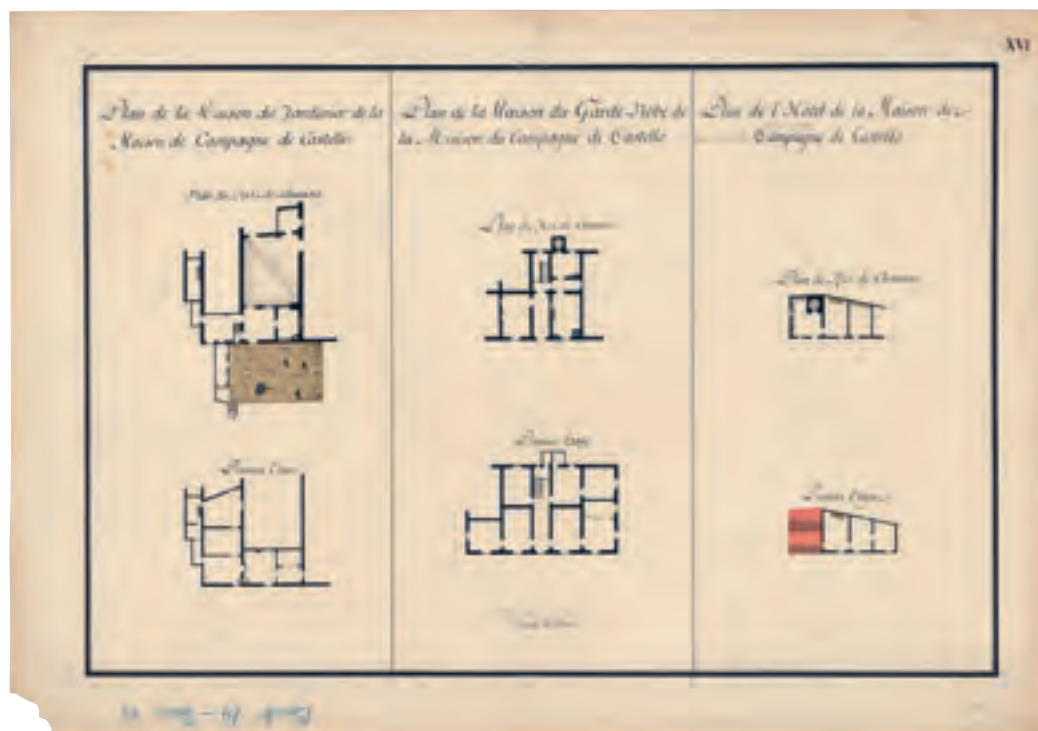
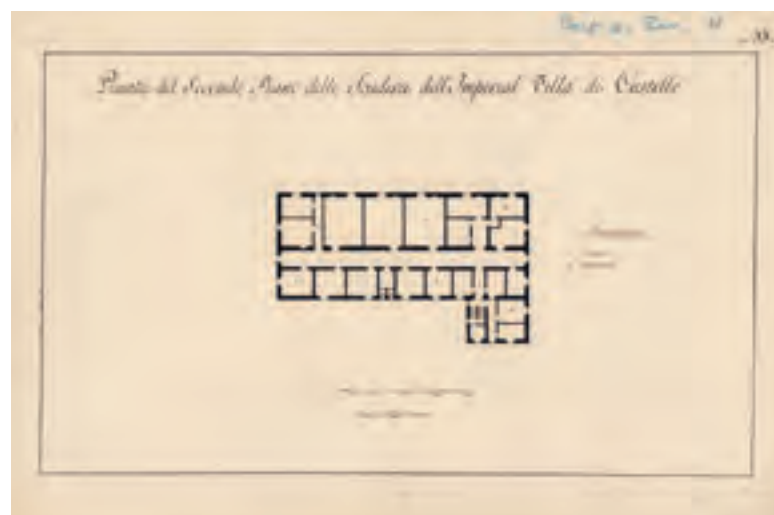
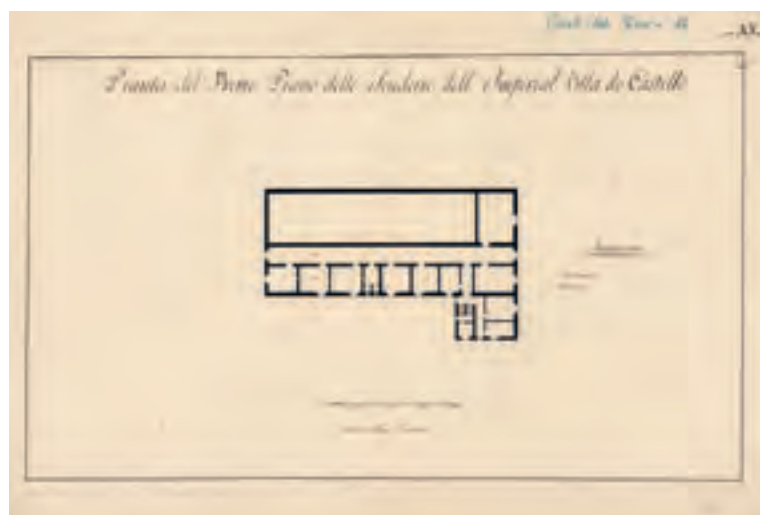
Six maps (fig. 2) were identified in the northern wing of the villa's ground floor, designated as private quarters for the rulers. Two marked 'Iapan' and 'Japonie Pars', depicting two stretches of the coast of Japan from Osaka to Edo and the islands of Kyūshū, Shikoku and Honshū respectively (CdC 4–5), were found in a narrow corridor furnished with other maps, a small dressing table and a walnut stool, which led to the rulers' room.¹⁶ In the same wing, past the alcove, was 'Office no. 19', designed from the outset as a place where various maps were to be displayed. When the residence was renovated, the decorator Pietro Ciseri was hired to paint the bedroom and the office with "only partial cladding, as the rooms are to be decorated with paintings and maps".¹⁷ The walls of this office, presumably used by the grand duke as a study, given that it contained two desks, eight stools and some walnut coffee tables, an armchair and eight marble busts, were predominantly hung with maps, including two from the collection depicting the island of Gorée and Kannur Fort in India respectively (CdC 6 and 56).¹⁸ In the hallway leading to this room, also furnished with maps, was one dedicated to the sights of Japan, depicting Osaka Castle, built around 1590 and burned down in 1868 (CdC 8).¹⁹ On the same floor, in room number 27, used as a small sitting room and located in the southern wing, was a map recorded in the inventory as 'Untitled plan', depicting Bantam on the island of Java (CdC 3).²⁰

As mentioned above, not all the maps were displayed in the villa's rooms: twenty-seven were 'stored' in the cloakrooms in the basement of the residence while waiting to

2. Plan of the ground floor of Villa di Castello, late 18th–early 19th century, ASCF, amfce, 2875, cass. 68, ins. C.

3. Plan of the basements of Villa di Castello, late 18th–early 19th century, ASCF, amfce, 2874, cass. 68, ins. C.

be hung (fig. 3).²¹ The maps belonging to Cosimo in these rooms included the famous plan of New York entitled *Amsterdam in Nieuw Neederlandt* (CdC 18).²² The other forty-six, meanwhile, were used as decorations for the Scuderie Reali and the new Casa del Guardaroba, previously the gardener's private quarters. Three of the four ethnographic maps depicting the southern African Khoekhoe population (CdC 80–2) were placed in rooms on the second floor of the Scuderie Reali, while another fourteen (CdC 64–77), many of which depicted the coast of Mozambique, were located in a room on the first floor of the building (figs. 4–5).²³ Twenty-nine maps, including one of Table Bay on the Cape of Good Hope (CdC 20), were used to furnish the Casa del Guardaroba, the house of wardrobe master Lorenzo Masini, where they were hung inside the bedrooms and sitting rooms on the first floor (fig. 6).²⁴ This layout was modified slightly in the late 18th century and early 19th century, following the French seizure of power and the subsequent refurnishing of the villa carried out by the newly restored House of Lorraine.²⁵ Proof of this can be found in the 1802 inventory drawn up by the new wardrobe master Giuseppe Masini, which reveals that the maps previously located on the ground floor of the residence and in the basements were redistributed predominantly among the apartments on the first and second floor of the Scuderie Reali and, to a lesser extent, in the Casa del Guardaroba. Just three maps remained within the villa, located on the second floor and depicting respectively Mocha in Yemen (CdC 23), Surat in India (CdC 58) and Bharuch Castle nearby Surat (CdC 60).²⁶ It therefore seems that the idea of using the maps as exclusive furnishings for the Scuderie Reali took shape as far back as the early 19th century. In 1815, during the reign of Ferdinand III of Habsburg-Lorraine (1769–1824), this idea was put into practice, with the hanging of seventy-four maps within the building: thirty-four spread between six rooms on the first floor, and forty in nine rooms within the apartment on the second floor.²⁷ As well as the three still kept on the second floor of the villa,²⁸ five maps from the collection were chosen to furnish a corridor and two rooms on the first floor of the Casa del Guardaroba, including the two maps depicting the Japanese coast (CdC 4–5).²⁹ The placement of the maps, documented in the 1815 inventory, remained virtually unchanged in the decades that followed, as shown in the inventory drawn up in 1860 by the wardrobe master Gaspero De La Tour. When Villa di Castello came under the ownership of the House of Savoy, some of the residence's furniture and furnishings were removed, while a large quantity of furniture was brought in from former residences in Livorno, Pisa, Lucca and Siena, formerly owned by the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and from the Real Palazzo in Modena.³⁰ However, this 'de-cluttering' and refitting of the villa did not affect the collection, which remained un-



4. Plan of the first floor of the Scuderie Reali at Villa di Castello, late 18th–early 19th century, ASCF, amfce, 2872, cass. 68, ins. C.

5. Plan of the second floor of the Scuderie Reali at Villa di Castello, late 18th–early 19th century, ASCF, amfce, 2873, cass. 68, ins. C.

6. Plan of the ground floor and first floor of the Casa del Giardiniere, Casa del Guardaroba and a service building, late 18th–early 19th century, ASCF, amfce, 2880, cass. 68, ins. C.

altered both in its number and its layout, apart from the map depicting the island of Manhattan (CdC 26), which moved from the Casa del Guardaroba to the Scuderie Reali.³¹ The arrangement of the maps in the villa, recorded in the immediate aftermath of the 1861 unification of Italy, was only modified substantially in 1911, when, in the run-up to the transfer of the residence from private property of the House of Savoy to state ownership, the administrators of the Real Casa drew up two inventories, dedicated to the furniture and artworks respectively. The latter shows that all the maps were moved to the main floor of the residence, to a room with a tiled ceiling next to the living room, presumably used as a storeroom, given its small dimensions and the large number of paintings it contained.³² The maps remained in this room for around ten years, before being moved definitively to the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana on 20 March 1921.

1 During the analysis of the inventory conducted on the maps' mounts, numbers written in pencil and ink were identified, difficult to read and almost certainly relating to the inventory numbers assigned to the maps following their arrival in Florence.

2 ASFi, Imperiale e Reale Corte, 4881, *Inventario Nuovo dei Mobili esistenti nella Real Villa di Castello, e suoi annessi*, 1785-1800.

3 ASFi, Imperiale e Reale Corte, 4883, *Inventario di tutto Ciò che esiste nella Real Villa di Castello*, 1802-9.

4 ASFi, Imperiale e Reale Corte, 4884, *Inventario della Real Villa di Castello*, 1815-7.

5 ASFi, Imperiale e Reale Corte, 4887-8, *Inventario dei Mobili, Biancheria, Porcellane e Cristalli, Rami, Ottoni, e oggetti minuti esistenti nella Real Villa di Castello*, in 2 books, 1852.

6 ASG, *Inventario dei Quadri esistenti nella Real Villa di Castello*, 1860.

7 ASG, *Inventario Oggetti d'Arte della Real Villa di Castello*, 1911.

8 ASG, *Inventario Oggetti d'Arte della Real Villa di Castello*, 1911, nos. 772, 777, 836.

9 ASFi, Guardaroba Medicea, 1119, *Inventario di tutti i Mobili che si ritrovano nel Palazzo della Villa di Castello dati in consegna a Simone Rico-veri Guardaroba di detto Palazzo*, 1676.

10 ASFi, Guardaroba Medicea, Appendice 93, *Inventario dei Mobili esistenti nell'Imperial Villa di Castello*, 1761.

11 Cited in Laguzzi 1997, p. 35: "per comodo della villeggiatura e della delizia".

12 See Acidini Luchinat-Galletti 1992, p. 80.

13 ASFi, Imperiale e Reale Corte, 3451, *Filza di Affari Diversi XIV*, 1782, nos. 2019, 2021.

14 ASFi, Scrittoio delle Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Lorenesi, 525, *Firenze. Ville Reali e Loro Annessi: Ambrogiana, Lappeggi, Artimino, Careggi, Castello e Cerreto Guidi*, ins. Castello 1782-3.

15 ASFi, Scrittoio delle Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Lorenesi, 525, *Firenze. Ville Reali e Loro Annessi: Ambrogiana, Lappeggi, Artimino, Careggi, Castello e Cerreto Guidi*, ins. Castello 1782-3: "unitamente alle due stanze di Cantonata dal giardinetto per il quartiere di SS. AA. RR".

16 ASFi, Imperiale e Reale Corte, 4881, *Inventario Nuovo dei Mobili esistenti nella Real Villa di Castello, e suoi annessi*, 1785-1800, no. 388.

17 ASFi, Scrittoio delle Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Lorenesi, 525, *Firenze. Ville Reali e Loro Annessi: Ambrogiana, Lappeggi, Artimino, Careggi, Castello e Cerreto Guidi*, ins. Castello 1782-3: "un solo Lambri, dovendo le stanze essere accomodate con quadri e carte".

18 ASFi, Imperiale e Reale Corte, 4881, *Inventario Nuovo dei Mobili esistenti nella Real Villa di Castello, e suoi annessi*, 1785-1800, nos. 454, 455.

19 See Morena 2005, p. 84.

20 ASFi, Imperiale e Reale Corte, 4881, *Inventario Nuovo dei Mobili esistenti nella Real Villa di Castello, e suoi annessi*, 1785-1800, no. 600.

21 ASFi, Imperiale e Reale Corte, 4881, *Inventario Nuovo dei Mobili esistenti nella Real Villa di Castello, e suoi annessi*, 1785-1800, nos. 2462, 2463, 2464, 2466, 2472.

22 ASFi, Imperiale e Reale Corte, 4881, *Inventario Nuovo dei Mobili esistenti nella Real Villa di Castello, e suoi annessi*, 1785-1800, no. 2462.

23 ASFi, Imperiale e Reale Corte, 4881, *Inventario Nuovo dei Mobili esistenti nella Real Villa di Castello, e suoi annessi*, 1785-1800, nos. 2708, 2747, 2888.

24 ASFi, Imperiale e Reale Corte, 4881, *Inventario Nuovo dei Mobili esistenti nella Real Villa di Castello, e suoi annessi*, 1785-1800, nos. 3044, 3045, 3046, 3081, 3133, 3150, 3151.

25 See Acidini Luchinat-Galletti 1992, pp. 7-9.

26 ASFi, Imperiale e Reale Corte, 4883, *Inventario di tutto Ciò che esiste nella Real Villa di Castello*, 1802-9, no. 1407.

27 ASFi, Imperiale e Reale Corte, 4884, *Inventario della Real Villa di Castello*, 1815-17, nos. 2042, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2093, 2107, 2119, 2120, 2187, 2200, 2315, 2338, 2350, 2371, 2384, 2396, 2408.

28 ASFi, Imperiale e Reale Corte, 4884, *Inventario della Real Villa di Castello*, 1815-7, no. 1611.

29 ASFi, Imperiale e Reale Corte, 4884, *Inventario della Real Villa di Castello*, 1815-7, nos. 2535, 2579, 2632.

30 ASG, *Giustificazioni dell'Inventario Mobili ed Oggetti d'Arte. Castello*, 1862-73, mandato n. 30, 31 luglio 1865.

31 ASG, *Inventario dei Quadri esistenti nella Real Villa di Castello*, 1860, no. 1125.

32 ASG, *Inventario Oggetti d'Arte della Real Villa di Castello*, 1911, fols. 109-30.

THE CARTE DI CASTELLO AT THE BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA LAURENZIANA

Anna Rita Fantoni

It is possible to reconstruct more or less how the Carte di Castello ended up at the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana from documents stored in the library's archive. A series of what were essentially chance events, combined, most importantly, with the insight and concern shown by Guido Biagi, the director of the Laurenziana from 1889 to 1923, who immediately grasped the importance of the collection, meant they ended up in a perfect location that further enhanced their status.

The first document held at the Laurenziana that mentions the collection is a letter dated 27 March 1920 that Joseph B. Gilder,¹ secretary of the Industrial Finance Corporation in New York, wrote to Guido Biagi on behalf his friend Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes. Stokes was interested in several maps of New York, purchased by Cosimo III during his trip to the Netherlands and stored at Villa di Castello. Stokes was publishing a work in six volumes on New York,² in partnership with Frederik Caspar Wieder, a librarian at the Universiteitsbibliotheek in Amsterdam and then the Universiteitsbibliotheek in Leiden.

Biagi's response is not in the library's archive, but in September that same year, Wieder, introduced by the chargé d'affaires in The Hague and the US ambassador in Rome, suggested to the Italian minister of public education an exchange of some pilot books and a small globe in his possession for two maps held at Villa di Castello. In a letter dated 17 September, the undersecretary of state for antiquities and fine arts, Giovanni Rosadi, asked Biagi for his view on the proposed exchange. The following day, 18 September, Wieder contacted Biagi directly, suggesting, in exchange for the two maps, five 14th- and 15th-century Italian pilot books and a 16th-century globe. He followed this up with two more letters on 25 September and 1 October.

Biagi did not take long to reply to Rosadi, and on 2 October a long letter written by Enrico Rostagno, the librarian responsible for manuscripts at the Laurenziana, highlighted

that Wieder was not only a scholar of cartography, but also a “business partner in the Frederik Müller & Co. Company from Amsterdam, one of the oldest, if not the very oldest company trading in Geographical Maps and in engravings and prints. It is therefore beyond doubt that the exchange requested would enhance the significant COMMERCIAL income of this Company”. The two maps requested, the ‘Manatus Map’ (CdC 26) and the ‘Plan of Manhattan’ (CdC 18) are respectively the first survey of the island of Manhattan and the oldest map of New York – two maps of extraordinary value, whose sale was out of the question. Instead, Biagi, fearing the collection at Villa di Castello could be broken up, requested not only that these two artefacts be held at the Laurenziana, but all the other maps too. He also noted that, having contacted the director of the Italian Geographic Military Institute, he would have collotype reproductions made of the two items. Rosadi replied on 23 October, accepting all of the director’s suggestions, and a rapid exchange of letters between Biagi and Wieder brought an end to the matter – the pilot books and the globe were returned. Meanwhile, the idea of keeping the entire collection at the Laurenziana was accepted, and on 19 February 1921 the Revenue Office authorized the delivery of the Carte di Castello to the library.³

A few weeks later, on 29 March 1921, the “Mostra storica di Geografia” (Historic Geographical Exhibition) opened at the library, organized to mark the 8th Italian Geographical Congress (Florence, 29 March–6 April 1921). 156 items from the Laurenziana and Riccardiana libraries were displayed, including the two maps of Manhattan.

The catalogue, or, to be more precise, the contents list⁴ for the exhibition was published two years later, adding a further 50 items, making a total of 206.

A few days after the opening of the exhibition, on 1 April 1921, Guido Biagi, Francesco Cartoni, the provincial director of the House of Savoy, Eugenio Roncali, department head at the Italian Ministry of Public Education, on behalf of the superintendent of the Royal Galleries, Commissario Poggi, and Raffaele Pedani, head of the Florence State Property Office, inspected Villa di Castello and chose eighty-two maps to send to Guido Biagi.

Almost ten years later, on 25 February 1930, the minister of public education, at the behest of the Italian Embassy in Washington, D.C., asked for news on the two Carte di Castello depicting Manhattan and enquired as to whether reproductions could be made to send to the recently founded Museum of the City of New York.

The following day, Enrico Rostagno, who in 1924 had succeeded Biagi at the helm of the Laurenziana, sent a detailed report pointing out that as well as the reproductions published in Phelps Stokes’ book, copies had also been made for the Museum of New York. He also reaffirmed that CdC 18 was a unique item, and that there were no other examples of the other one, CdC 26, in Italy, although one was stored in the Library of

Congress in Washington, D.C. Given their importance, it was therefore decided to exhibit the two maps among the artefacts at the Laurenziana. On 28 February 1930 the maps “from Villa Reale di Castello” were officially documented: on this occasion a list was drawn up, signed by Rostagno, containing the current location of the maps, their position in the Castello’s inventory and a brief title describing their contents:

1 – 699	Ambon – Maluku Islands – Indian Ocean
2 – 706	Atchin – Capital of Sumatra
3 – 707	Bantam – Capital of the Island of Java
4 – 714	Japan – City of Edo
5 – 715	Japan – Cities of Bungo and Tonsa
6 – 717	Fort of.....
7 – 727	Taiwan – Plan of the City and the Fort
8 – 730	Japan – Osaka – Plan of the City and the Emperor’s Palace
9 – 731	Portobelo...
10 – 732	Santa Marta – Map of part of the island and city in South America
11 – 733	Pulicat – Plan of the city and the fort
12 – 734	Island of Formosa and the Pescadores Islands
13 – 735	Fort Victoria on the Island of Ambon (Maluku Islands)
14 – 736	Cartagena – View of the City on the Gulf of Umba in America
15 – 737	Banda – One of the Maluku Islands
16 – 738	Macau – Plan of the city on the coast of China
17 – 739	Island of São Tomé
18 – 740	New York – Plan of the City
19 – 741	Guinea – Fort Nassau
20 – 745	Table Bay – Cape of Good Hope
21 – 747	Island of Tidore – One of the Maluku Islands
22 – 749	Bay of Manila (Philippines)
23 – 750	Mocha
24 – 751	Coast of Van Diemen’s Land
25 – 753	Mina – View of the Fort
26 – 755	New York – Rivers Around Manhattan
27 – 759	City of Malaya
28 – 760	Map of the city and port of Taiwan
29 – 763	Fort and Plans of the City of Point de Galle on the Island of Ceylon
30 – 765	City of Colombo on the Island of Ceylon

31 – 766	Cape d’Orange and the Caijanji River in America
32 – 767	Map of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil
33 – 769	View of Fort Zeelandia on the Island of Formosa
34 – 770	Fort Arguin at Cape Verde
35 – 771	Baya Hondo – Plan
36 – 772	Bay of Puerto Rico (Antilles)
37 – 773	Dutch Vessels at 20 lat. and 206 long.
38 – 774	Lake Maracaibo – South America
39 – 775	View of Cape Coast
40 – 777	Bay of Santiago on the Island of Cuba
41 – 778	Port of Veracruz
42 – 779	Port of San Francisco
43 – 780	Mexico – Plan of the City
44 – 781	City and Bay of San Salvador
45 – 782	City of Espírito Santo in Brazil
46 – 783	Malacca – View of the City
47 – 784	Table Bay at the Cape of Good Hope
48 – 785	El Moro Negro Bay – Margarita Island (?)
49 – 786	Bay of Cape Tiburon
50 – 787	Île-à-Vache and Western Part of the Island of Santo Domingo
51 – 788	View of Puerto Rico
52 – 789	Another Plan of Mexico City
53 – 790	Port of São Vicente in Brazil
54 – 791	Batticaloa on the Island of Ceylon
55 – 792	City of Dabhol
56 – 793	Fort and Natural Harbour of Cananor
57 – 794	Elmina Castle at St Iago
58 – 795	City of Surat
59 – 798	Bay and Fort of Nieuw Vlissingen on the Island of Tobago
60 – 799	View of the City of Brotchia
61 – 800	Map of the Philippines, Borneo, Java, etc.
62 – 802	Fort and Port of Sofala
63 – 803	Plan of the Strait of Malacca
64 – 821	Port of Santo Domingo in the Antilles (?)
65 – 822	Arguin Castle
66 – 823	Decan and Narcinga

67 – 824	Land of Natal
68 – 825	Coast of Mozambique
69 – 826	Port of Sofola – Island of St Lawrence
70 – 827	Kingdom of Orixa, Bengal and Pegu
71 – 828	Arabia and Persia
72 – 829	Strait of Malacca and Kingdom
73 – 830	Land of the Makua People
74 – 831	Plan of Malacca
75 – 832	Port of St Lucia – Cape of Good Hope
76 – 833	Island of Madagascar
77 – 834	Land of Natal
78 – 836	Kollam
79 – 860	Hottentots – Cape of Good Hope
80 – 861	Female Hottentot
81 – 862	Male Hottentot
82 – 863	ID. ID.

The information available on the maps from the subsequent decades is scarce and fragmented.

On 2 July 1963, the maps' storage in the Laurenziana was renewed with a contract signed by the superintendent of the galleries of the provinces of Florence and Pistoia, Guido Morozzi, and the director of the Laurenziana, Berta Maracchi.

Later, in 1974, the Giuseppe Masi company restored the maps,⁵ while the frames were renovated by Franco Beneforti, a Florence-based furniture restorer.

In an unknown year the collection was put on display in a dedicated exhibition hall and opened to the public. The photographic archive contains some images of this room, the Sala delle Carte di Castello. Two were taken at the opening of the exhibition entitled “Monumenti di cartografia a Firenze” (Monuments of Cartography in Florence) on 3 May 1981 (figs. 1–2) and one was taken on 11 April 1982 at the launch of the exhibition “Uomini, bestie e paesi nelle miniature laurenziane” (Men, beasts and countries in the Laurenziana miniatures; fig. 3). This photo also shows a large display case at the centre of the hall containing the Mediceo Palatino 123 manuscript, which also describes Cosimo's trip to the Netherlands.⁶

In 1996, for conservation reasons, the maps were removed from their frames and placed in a chest of drawers; the frames are kept separately, and are currently held at the convent of Santa Maria Maddalena in Caldine.



1-2. Two photos of the opening ceremony of the exhibition "Monumenti di cartografia a Firenze" at the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 3 May 1981.



3. A photo of the opening ceremony of the exhibition "Uomini, bestie e paesi nelle miniature laurenziane" at the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 11 April 1982.

APPENDIX

1996 copy of the restoration report for the Carte di Castello, carried out in 1974 by the Giuseppe Masi company, signed by the then director of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Franca Arduini. The original has been lost.

Report: methods used

After extracting the maps from their outer frames and removing the protective glass, the maps themselves, which were stuck to hemp fabric, were detached from the supporting frame, to which they had been fixed along the edges of the fabric using glue of animal origin.

They were detached dry, as the glue was not fixed strongly to the wood of the supporting frames. The maps, blackened by dust, were dry cleaned using polyvinyl rubber, and, after dampening them with a hydroalcoholic solution using a brush, they were detached from the fabric mounts. The back of the hemp mounts contains the number from a previous cataloguing exercise, written in paint that had oxidized, damaging the nearby fibres of the maps by transferring the number to the maps themselves.

After separating the maps from the fabric mount, the solubility of the paints and inks was tested; the inks reacted positively to contact with dampness, without any major alteration. Of the paints, meanwhile, only the brightest, red and green, have little resistance, and so they were fixed topically with solubilized gelatine at 50° C. Barium hydroxide deacidification was carried out topically along the parts marked with the ink and on the part oxidized by the pigment, as described above. The residual old glue on the back of each map was removed, after softening it with a 50% hydroalcoholic solution. After individual cleaning, the maps were immersion washed with filter paper in the aforementioned solution. Once the maps' supporting frames had dried, they were re-glued using a brush soaked in a 2.5% methyl cellulose solution. The gaps at the edges of the maps were filled with washi paper, and, to improve their consistency and conservation, some were covered with Japanese tissue on the back, while others were strengthened with washi paper, code 25517.

They were pressed using a press at roughly 40 atmospheres, for a maximum of 24 hours. The hemp mounts, once separated from the maps, were immersion washed in hydroalcoholic solution with disinfectant (50% ethanol and distilled water; Preventol 'O' extra at 0.1%).

These were dried and pressed under tension using specially designed stainless-steel weights, which exerted a pressure of roughly 40 atm. The mounts were reattached to the origi-

nal supporting frames, using a mixed glue to stick the edges of the fabric. The maps were placed in their corresponding outer frames, and a lightweight, long-lasting fibreboard, lined with white cellulose, was inserted between the map and the supporting frame, in order to prevent the map from coming into contact with the old fabric, and so prevent potential resurfacing of oxidation over time.

¹ Gilder, the editor of Putnam's Magazine, had published an illustrated article on the Laurenziana at the time of Guido Biagi's visit to New York (McIlvaine 1907).

² Phelps Stokes 1915–28.

³ The correspondence cited between Biagi, Rostagno, Wieder and Rosadi is held at the Bibliote-

ca Medicea Laurenziana, Archivio BML, Acquisti e Doni, A4b (1920–30).

⁴ See Rostagno 1923.

⁵ The restoration report published in the Appendix is preserved in a copy made in 1996, signed by the then director of the Laurenziana, Franca Arduini. The original drawn up by the restorer has been lost.

⁶ See in this book the entry by Eugenia Antonucci on pp. 218–20.

NOTES ON READING THE ENTRIES

The entire Carte di Castello collection is described in eighty-two entries, which begin with the transcription and translation of the often very complex and narrative titles written in Dutch and Portuguese (difficult to read due to fading caused by years of exposure to the light), followed by the description of any notes and ownership stamps. Information is then provided about whether or not there are any other similar examples in existence. As regards the sixty-five Carte di Castello in the style of Johannes Vingboons (CdC 1–60, 64–5, 79–82), we found similar examples in the libraries and archives listed below, identified as follows:

BAV = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Atlas of Queen Christina of Sweden;

BL = London, British Library, Atlas from the Harlem collection of Haarlem Van der Willigen;

BNF = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France;

BPD = Biblioteca del Paço Ducal di Vila Viçosa, Portugal;

IAHGP = Recife, Pernambuco, Brasile, Instituto Arqueológico, Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano;

LOC = Washington, D.C., Library of Congress;

MM = Rotterdam, Maritiem Museum;

NA = Den Haag, National Archief, mostly from the collection of Christoffel Beudeker;

ÖNB = Vienna, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek;

Van der Hem = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *Atlas Blaeu - Van der Hem*, collected by the Dutchman Laurens van der Hem.

Each similar example we found has been identified with its complete bibliographic shelfmark. In order to carry out this research we used the following hard-copy and digital indices, studies and catalogues, which document and describe the cartographic and painterly work of Johannes Vingboons: Wieder 1925–33; Van der Krogt 2005; Gosselink 2007; *Desenhos da terra* 2003; *The Atlas of Mutual Heritage; Gallica*.

This research has enabled us to verify that the sixty-five Dutch maps in the Castello collection comprise almost fifteen one-offs, including the famous map of New Amsterdam (CdC 18). Furthermore, eleven of the maps have only one known second copy, most of which are in the *Atlas Blaeu - Van der Hem* in Vienna, albeit with fewer textual elements and iconographic details than the corresponding Carte di Castello. As a result, the Castello corpus has an extremely important role to play among the collections of so-called ‘secret cartography’ – that is to say not intended for printing – of the Dutch East and West India Companies, reproduced in manuscript form

by Johannes Vingboons and his workshop (see the essay by Angelo Cattaneo).

For the maps of Portuguese origin (CdC 61–3, 66–78), we managed to identify the direct source from which they were taken: the codex marked Res. 21 in the Biblioteca do Paço Ducal (Ducal Palace) de Vila Viçosa, in Portugal. We also used two main indices when studying these seventeen maps of Portuguese origin: PMC 1960; Domingues 2016.

When studying and describing the contents of both the Dutch and Portuguese cartographic and painterly groups in the Castello collection, we preferred to focus on the localization and historical reconstruction of the places shown, the analysis of their importance in the history of the early modern era, highlighting the local trading networks and routes that predated the arrival of the Portuguese, Dutch and Spanish, and then placing them into the context of the Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch expansion, conquests and colonial wars in the Atlantic, the Caribbean, Brazil, along the coasts of Africa, in the Indian Ocean, the China Sea and the seas of South East Asia. What is more, we not only undertook to transcribe and translate the titles in full, but also to study the keys and written information on the maps alongside the visual, graphic and cartographic elements.

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CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ
OF THE CARTE DI CASTELLO

Angelo Cattaneo, Sabrina Corbellini

**COSIMO AND THE CARTE DI CASTELLO:
THE CONTEXTS**

Eugenia Antonucci, Sandro Bellesi, Alberto Bruschi, Fabio D'Angelo,
Giovanna Frosini, Marco Mozzo, Silvia Scipioni

Carte di Castello 1

Amboina

Ambon, Maluku Islands, Indonesia

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665–8

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed
paper, 143.6 × 50.8 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand
duke of Tuscany; inventory record: '65.
Carte de l'île et ville d'Amboine, l'une des
grandes Moluques, dans l'Océan Indien, et
le meilleur établissement des Hollandais,
après Batavia'.

Other copies

Van der Hem, 40:14.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, I, p. 13, IV, p. 132, no. 50;
Van der Krogt 2005, pp. 345–7;
Gosselink 2007, pp. 129, 149, no. 200;
Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



The city of Ambon, on the eponymous island in the Maluku archipelago in the Banda Sea, was one of the most important places for cultivating and trading spices, particularly nutmeg and cloves. Portuguese merchants arrived there in 1512 and built the Forte de Nossa Senhora da Anunciada de Amboino in a futile attempt

to control the Banda Sea and take on the local Muslim merchants. In 1605, Captain Steven van der Hagen (1563–1621) conquered Ambon in the name of the Dutch East India Company and it went on to become a Dutch governorate. Ambon was the Dutch East India Company's operational headquarters in the seas of the Far



East until 1619, the year of foundation of Batavia, now known as Jakarta, which went on to become the capital of the Dutch trading empire. The Dutch competed with merchants from the British East India Company in the area. The map by Vingboons provides detailed images of the main buildings and quarters of the city,

marked by letters A to N and explained in the Dutch key in the top right margin. The biggest structures include the colonial buildings, the hospital (E), the church and the court (C and H), surrounded by equatorial forest. The key also explains that the city was made up of different quarters, divided by ethnicity and re-

ligion, including the Chinese quarter (N), the native quarter (K) and the Christian quarter, home to ancient descendants of slaves transported to Ambon by the Portuguese (L).

[AC]

Carte di Castello 2

Atchin

Banda Aceh, Sumatra, Indonesia

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1660–7

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed
paper, 72.2 × 96.3 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand
duke of Tuscany; inventory record: '50. Plan
de la ville d'Achem, capitale du Royaume du
même non, dans l'île de Sumatra'.

The port city of Banda Aceh (Atchim, Atjeh, Achin, Achem), at the northern tip of the island of Sumatra, home to the sultanate of the same name, was South-East Asia's main port for warehousing and trading pepper. It was also a busy trading place for tin from the mines in western Malaysia (part of the sultanate at the time), as well as for gold and diamonds. Banda Aceh vaunted a strategic location between Malaysia – home to the rival Malacca sultanate, conquered by the Portuguese in 1511 – and the empire of Johor to the east, and the rich kingdoms overlooking the Bay of Bengal to the north. From the early 16th century, the Portuguese fleets also established trading warehouses at this intra-Asian trade crossroads, followed a century later, in 1607, by the Dutch East India Company.

The Castello map, with its Dutch key that describes twenty-three principal places in the city, highlights the natural harbour and its channels; the *Dalam*, the sultan's palace (A, 's *Conings Hoff*) with the large mosque next door and nine mosques dotted around the city; the officials' residences (B, C, D, *orang kaya*); the European-style residences of the Dutch and British merchants (K, L); the quarters inhabited by the Chinese and the dyers from Pegu (Bago) in Burma (V, X); the harbourmaster's house (Z), the various types of Dutch ships docked in the port (S, Q, R, T), and also 'the island of the elephants' (G), an enclosed area where these large mammals lived.

[AC]

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Other copies
one-off; similar map: NA, 4.VELHo619.21.

—
Selected bibliography
Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 132, no. 48;
Gosselink 2007, pp. 108, 124–5, 149, no. 193;
Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 3

[*Bantam*]

Bantam, Java, Indonesia

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665–8

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed
paper, 103.4 × 73.7 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand
duke of Tuscany; inventory record: '42. Vue
de la ville de Bantam, capitale de l'isle de
Java'.

Bantam (Banten, Bantham, Sourousouangh, Soeroesowan), capital of the eponymous sultanate, was an important and populous fully fortified port town. It was situated at the mouth of the navigable river of the same name, at the western tip of the island of Java, in a bay facing Sumatra, from which it was divided by the Sunda Strait.

Portuguese merchants were attracted by its considerable production of spices, particularly pepper, and its strategic position offering access to both the western Indian Ocean and the Java Sea. They were later followed by merchants from both the British and Dutch East India Companies in the early 17th century.

From 1618 onwards, the conflict with the British forced the Dutch to leave Bantam and found Batavia, present-day Jakarta, around 150 miles away on Java's north-east coast. This resulted in the progressive decline of the port of Bantam.

Accompanied by an extensive Dutch key with forty-four entries, the highly detailed Carta di Castello describes the city and the surrounding land with great precision due to their perceived strategic importance at the time. Some of the most evident structures are the sultan's palace (A, 's *Conings Hoff*) and the imposing central mosque (B) next to it. There was also a Chinese quarter (P). Furthermore, Bantam's Dutch past and British presence are recalled by the Dutch and British wash houses (in the box on the right). The meticulous measurement of the depths of the river, its mouth and the sea near the natural harbour (X) are particularly important.

[AC]

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Other copies

Van der Hem, 39:22.

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Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 132, V, p. 168;

Van der Krogt 2005, pp. 309–11;

Gosselink 2007, pp. 127, 149, no. 196.



Carte di Castello 4

*Een Landt Reijse van de Stadt Osacca,
Tot de Stadt Jedo, in 't Rijcke van Japan*
| JAPAN

Overland route from the city of Osaka
to the city of Edo [Tokyo] in the
Kingdom of Japan | JAPAN

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1660–8

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed
paper, 81.8 × 34 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand
duke of Tuscany; inventory record: '33. Les
ville [sic] d'Jedo et d'Osacca au Japon, avec
une partie de la mer qui les baigne'.

Other copies

Van der Hem, 41:26.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 133, no. 65;

Van der Krogt 2005, p. 400;

Gosselink 2007, p. 150, no. 231.



Carte di Castello 4 and 5 form a cartographic diptych of Japan, painting a highly detailed picture of the coastlines of the islands of Kyūshū and Honshū and showing the land and sea routes from Nagasaki to Edo (present-day Tokyo) passing through Osaka and Kyoto. The route illustrates the main stops on the jour-

ney that the Dutch, despite officially being confined to the small island of Dejima, in the bay of Nagasaki, were required to make periodically to pay homage and tribute to the Tokugawa shoguns. The path partly coincided with the *Tōkaidō*, namely the journey of servitude from Kyoto to Edo, made by the Japa-



nese *daimyō* themselves to pay tribute to the shoguns.

The Dutch, called *kōmōjin* or ‘red-skinned men’ by the Japanese, arrived in Japan in 1609 and opened a warehouse on the island of Hirado, in northern Kyūshū. Unlike the *nanbanjin* (Portuguese merchants), who had arrived in

1543 and were expelled from Japan in 1639, and the missionaries, especially the Jesuits, expelled in 1614, the *kōmōjin*, who were only interested in trade and had no missionary ambitions, were permitted to stay during the *sakoku*, that is to say Japan’s isolation following the expulsion of the Portuguese and Spanish. The

Dutch were the only westerners in Japan until 1865, when the Meiji era began.

[AC]

Carte di Castello 5

*De water Reyse van Nagngasacqui
tot de Stadt Iacca, in Iapan*

Sea route from Nagasaki
to the city of Osaka, in Japan

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1660–8

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
82.8 × 36.2 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke
of Tuscany; inventory record: '32. Les Isles de Bungo,
de Tonsa, et Province de Nangasaki, au Japon'.

Other copies

Van der Hem, 41:25.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 133, no. 64;

Van der Krogt 2005, p. 399;

Gosselink 2007, pp. 130, 150, no. 230.



This map describes the sea route between Nagasaki, on Kyūshū, and the city of Osaka, on the island of Honshū. Oriented north, like *Carta di Castello 4*, it contains a sixteen-wind compass rose (ø 3.7 cm) and an eight-wind compass rose (ø 2.7 cm). It also features two graduated scales, showing the equivalence between

Dutch and Japanese miles: 'Duýtissche mylen Zýstien in een Graedt' (11.7 cm divided into fifteen units of a degree); 'Japanse mylen, 25. in een graedt' (11.7 cm divided into twenty-five units). Nagasaki, founded in 1569 by the Jesuits and Portuguese merchants, by concession of the Christian *daimyō* Ōmura Sumitada, be-



came the heart of the European presence in Japan, communicating with Macau, in Pearl Bay, in China. In order to monitor and watch the Portuguese, suspected of aiding the return of the Catholic missionaries expelled in 1614, the Japanese built the artificial island of Dejima just a few metres from the coast in Nagasaki

bay between 1634 and 1636. This small island, measuring just a few hundred metres and created in the shape of a fan, hosted the Portuguese warehouses during the same period that Japan began to expel children born out of relations between Japanese women and *nanbanjin* (Portuguese merchants). In 1641 – the same year

the Dutch conquered Malacca from the Portuguese, becoming the biggest European power in the Java Sea and China, despite the Portuguese presence – the Dutch transferred their warehouse here from Hirado, making it the only western outpost in Japan until the Meiji era. [AC]

Carte di Castello 6

[*Aldus verthoont Hem Het Eijlandt
Goeree geleegeen an Cabo verde*]

Thus appears the Island of Gorée
near Cape Verde

Gorée Island, Senegal

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop, incomplete

Amsterdam, c. 1665

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
60.2 × 28.6 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany; inventory record, crossed out: '5. [...]'.

—

Other copies

NA, 4.VELH619-55;
Van der Hem, 36:9a.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925-33, IV, p. 131, no. 25;
Van der Krogt 2005, pp. 118-19;
Gosselink 2007, pp. 131, 147, no. 148;
Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.

The small island of Gorée, around three kilometres from the coast near the present-day city of Dakar in Senegal, was discovered by the Portuguese sailor Dinis Dias in 1444, when the area was inhabited by the Mandinka people. The Portuguese went on to build two forts there, which can be clearly seen in the Carta di

Castello. By constructing São Tomé (see CdC 17), they transformed it into one of the main ports for accumulating and trading slaves destined for the Americas, as part of the route controlled by the Muslims, the African Jolof empire and the Portuguese in western Africa. The Dutch seized possession of the island in





1588 and named it 'Goede Reede', the 'good port', which is where its current name comes from. In 1672, just a few years before this map was drawn up, the French took over the island, competing against the British. The island was subsequently occupied by the British from 1804 to 1817, before returning to

French hands. For more than three centuries from 1536 onwards, the island of Gorée – together with the present-day Saint-Louis du Senegal, the Cidade Velha on the island of Santiago in the Cape Verde archipelago, São Tomé, Santa Marta and Cartagena in what is now Colombia (see CdC 10 and 14), Recife, Salvador and Rio

de Janeiro (see CdC 32 and 44) – formed one of the crossroads of the transatlantic slave trade route. In 1978, the island of Gorée was made a UNESCO World Heritage Site to commemorate this tragic history of global importance. [AC]

Carte di Castello 7

Taiwan

Anping, Taiwan

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1625–60

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed
paper, 89.7 × 53.5 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand
duke of Tuscany; inventory record: '35. Plan
du bourg et die fort de Tayoan'.

Situated between the south-western coast of present-day Taiwan – the ancient Formosa, namely the 'beautiful' island, as the Portuguese called it in around the mid-16th century – and the continental coast of China, the city-peninsula of Taiwan was a strategic commercial stopover on the way to Ming China (1368–1644). When the Dutch were forced to leave the nearby island of Penghu in 1623, they moved to Formosa and the Dutch East India Company built an imposing fortified warehouse there, which acquired its definitive name of Fort Zeelandia in 1653 and was previously referred to as Oranje, Fort Formosa and Provintia. With the advent of the Qing dynasty in 1644, the Manchurian Chinese occupied Taiwan and annexed it in 1683. The impres-

sive Zeelandia fortress (5) occupies a central position on the map. It is defended by imposing bastions (7), together with the fleet of *fluyt* (literally 'flute'), the ships specifically designed and built by the Dutch for transoceanic voyages. As well as being able to carry a considerable amount of cargo, they were also fitted with fifteen guns and were easy to build and maintain. In addition to the *fluyt*, there are also numerous smaller vessels in the harbour, which were used for local trade. Towards the bottom of the map we can glimpse a Dutch captain meeting a Chinese official (10). The bird's eye view of Taiwan forms a cartographic diptych with the nautical chart of Formosa (CdC 14).

[AC]

Other copies

BNF, 27 (5)-P187914;

Van der Hem, 41:05.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 132, no. 60, V, p. 174;

Van der Krogt 2005, p. 374;

Gosselink 2007, pp. 87, 150, no. 218;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 8

*Afteijckeninge vant machtich
Keijserlijck Casteel OSACCA. geleege
int groot rijck IAPAN. besuijden de
Stadt OSACCA. inde Provincie van Qio*

Drawing of the formidable imperial
castle [of] Osaka located in the great
Kingdom of Japan, south of the city
of Osaka, in the province of Kyoto

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
79.3 × 56 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke
of Tuscany; inventory record: '32. Plan de la ville
d'Osacca et du Palais de l'Empereur'.

Osaka castle (*Ōsaka-jō*) was one of the most
important places in Japan during the Az-
uchi-Momoyama period. It was during this
era that the unification of Japan took place,
starting in 1573 when the *daimyō* Oda Nobu-
naga deposed the last shogun from the Ashi-
kaga clan, and ending in 1615 when Osaka
castle was conquered by the troops under the
command of the Tokugawa.

Oda Nobunaga and his successors, namely
Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Tokugawa Ieyasu and the
descendants of the latter, flaunted their pow-
er by commissioning the construction of cas-
tles of prodigious size and splendour. The big-
gest and most magnificent included the castles
in Himeji (near Kobe), Osaka and Edo, pres-
ent-day Tokyo.

The grandiose *Ōsaka-jō*, begun in 1583 and
completed in around 1586 upon the orders of
Toyotomi Hideyoshi, was considered to be un-
assailable because of its huge double bastions

and ditches. Toyotomi also ordered the creation
of the gardens and a *yamazato* (mountain vil-
la). The interiors were decorated by the school
of Kanō Eitoku, the most prestigious of the
Momoyama period and the early Edo period.
After it was conquered and partially destroyed
in 1615, the castle was restored under the sho-
gunate of Tokugawa Hidetada in around 1620.
It was completely destroyed during bombing
raids in the Second World War and rebuilt in
1947. The axonometric drawing from the Bib-
lioteca Medicea Laurenziana, with its highly
detailed key labelling fifty-five different fea-
tures (including the material used to build the
roofs of the central tower: stone, lead, copper),
is therefore an extraordinary historical docu-
ment that provides us with a picture of one of
the most symbolic places in Japan during the
Edo period.

[AC]

Other copies

NA, 4.VELH619-82;
Van der Hem, 41:27.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925-33, I, pp. 19-20, IV, p. 133, no. 66;
Van der Krogt 2005, pp. 401-3;
Gosselink 2007, pp. 23, 150, no. 232.



Carte di Castello 9

Porto Bello

Portobelo, Panama

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665–8

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed
paper, 75.7 × 52.6 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand
duke of Tuscany; inventory record: '10.
Porto bello dans le Panama'.

Portobelo bay, in the present-day province of Colón in Panama, situated on the Atlantic coast of the isthmus, was discovered by Christopher Columbus during his fourth and final voyage in 1502. The city of the same name was not founded until 1597 and was called San Felipe de Portobelo in honour of Philip II, king of Spain. It was heavily involved in the transportation of South American silver to Spain. Indeed, from the 16th to the 18th century, Portobelo was one of the main ports on the route that crossed the Caribbean and Atlantic, carrying silver from the viceroyalty's mines in New Granada to Seville. The 'Virreinato de la Nueva Granada' comprised the territories of Panama, much of Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela.

The map, which is unique among the charts produced by Johannes Vingboons for the Dutch West India Company, primarily highlights the fortifications: 'the "large" castle near the villages' (A), 'a "large" fortification in the eastern part of the isthmus' (B), 'a "small" fortification in the western part of the isthmus' (D). Renowned for its wealth, the city of Portobelo was sacked by British pirates under the command of Captain Henry Morgan in 1668 despite its fortifications. The ruins of the fortifications and the nearby Forte San Lorenzo were proclaimed UNESCO World Heritage Sites in 1980.

[AC]

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Other copies
one-off.

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Selected bibliography
Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 131, no. 18;
Gosselink 2007, p. 143, no. 58.



Carte di Castello 10
Sancta Martha
Santa Marta, Colombia

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665–8

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
76.5 × 52.9 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke
of Tuscany; inventory record: '73. Carte d'une
partie de l'île et de la ville de Sainte Marthe dans
l'Amérique Méridionale. La ville est ruineé, et n'a
plus que 30 à 40 [...]'.

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Other copies
one-off.

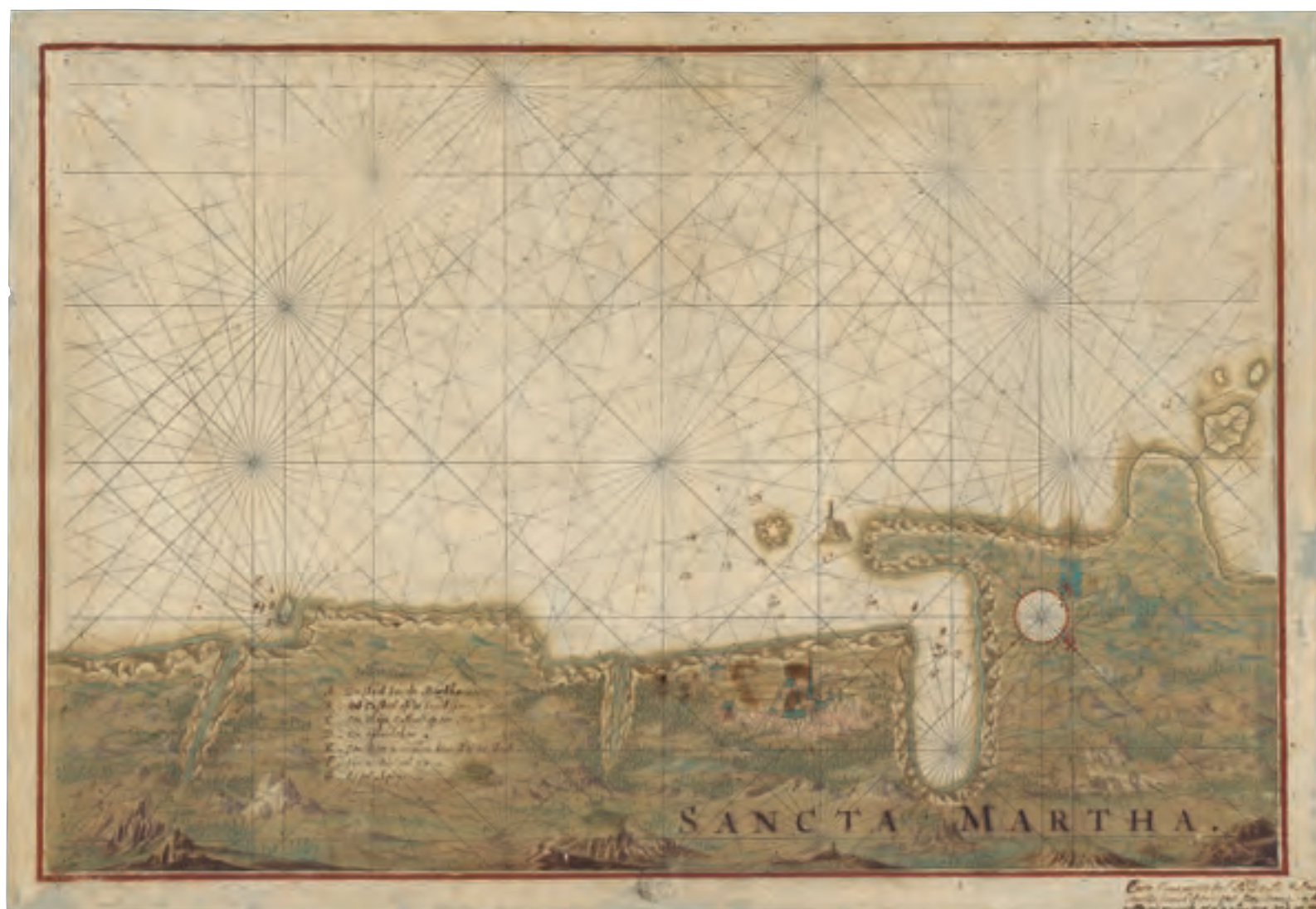
—

Selected bibliography
Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 131, no. 16;
Gosselink 2007, p. 143, no. 56.

The coastal city of Santa Marta in present-day Colombia is the country's oldest colonial city. The territory where the *conquistador* Rodrigo de Bastidas officially founded Santa Marta in 1525 was discovered back in 1501 by Bastidas himself and Juan de la Cosa, a companion of Columbus, during the first explorations of the southern coast of South America, when there was still some uncertainty about the nature of the lands they had reached. Santa Maria became the starting point for expeditions that led the *conquistadores* to found Cartagena de Indias, Bogotá and Santa Fe to the south-west, as well as venturing towards the Maracaibo territories and what is now Venezuela, to the

south-east. Violent battles against the native Tairona populations were also organized from Santa Marta for more than a century. The foundation of Cartagena and the concentration of slave traffic from Africa and the native populations in the new city led to the slow decline of Santa Marta, as also highlighted by the inventory note in French. The Carta di Castello, with its very generic key compared to those of the territories and cities under the jurisdiction of the Dutch West India Company, nevertheless reveals the company's interest in the western territories governed by its rival the Spanish Empire.

[AC]



Carte di Castello 11
De stadt Pelliaccatte
City of Pulicat
Pulicat, India

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665–8

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed
paper, 71.9 × 55.6 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand
duke of Tuscany; inventory record: '49. Plan
de la ville de Pelliccate et du fort Gueldre'.

This map features a plan of the Indian city of Pulicat, in Coromandel, on India's south-west coast. We can see its imposing fort, built between 1610 and 1613. The name of the fort, 't *Casteel Geldria*, refers to the birthplace of the governor Wemmer van Berchem, while the bastions are named after the *stadhouders* of the House of Orange, Willem, Ernst, Hendrick and Mauritius. Constructed on the shores of Pulicat lagoon, the fort stood in a strategic position, offering access and control over the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. This particularly detailed map features the names of the main streets in the city and also Indian holy sites (*Pagod*).

The Dutch East India Company established commercial links with the Coromandel coast, just a few years after it started trading, taking over from the Portuguese who had established themselves here in 1502. The company opened an office in Pulicat in 1610 and it became its most important trading centre almost immediately, particularly for cotton sold to the Maluku islands. Pulicat also had its own mint (with gold from India, Malaysia, Sumatra and Japan) and a gunpowder factory, which supplied numerous other forts built by the company.

[sc]

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Other copies

one-off;
a copy of the map, printed in 1682, is in
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (RP-P-1988-55).

—
Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 131, no. 47;
Gosselink 2007, pp. 112–13, 149, no. 192;
Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 12

Caerte van 't Eijlandt Formosa en de Eijlanden van Pescadoris

Map of the Island of Formosa and the Pescadores Islands

Taiwan and Pescadores Islands

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665–8.

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
74 × 52 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany.

This large-scale graduated map, with a navigation grid, an eight-wind compass rose on the bottom left and a scale on the bottom right, marks out the coastal profile of the island of Formosa and the nearby Pescadores islands in a nautical style. The bays, landing places, inlets, rocks and shallows are recreated with great accuracy. In keeping with the nautical function of this chart, the inland area of the island has been left empty, with the exception of the mouths of the rivers and the profiles of the mountains, although they are drawn in a somewhat conjectured and conventional manner. The Dutch didn't have the opportunity to establish a warehouse in Macao, in the Bay of Pearls, upon

Chinese concession, inasmuch as the city was a Portuguese colony. This is why the 'Ilha Formosa' (Beautiful Island) and the 'Ilhas dos Pescadores' (Islands of Fishermen), so-called by the Portuguese, played such a strategic role in the Dutch East India Company's attempts to establish trade with the Chinese officials of the new Qing dynasty, who occupied Taiwan from 1644 onwards. The nautical chart of Formosa should be interpreted in relation to the highly detailed bird's eye depiction of the port city of Tayoan (CdC 7), present-day Anping, on the south-west coast of Formosa.

[AC]

Other copies

NA, 4.VELH619-52;

Van der Hem, 40:02.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 133, no. 58;

Van der Krogt 2005, p. 370;

Gosselink 2007, pp. 135, 150, no. 216;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 13

*Fortres Vict[o]ria met de Negery ende
't Geberchte van Laytimor in Ambon*

Fort Victoria with the villages
and mountains of Laytimor
on the island of Ambon

Ambon, Maluku Islands, Indonesia

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665–8

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
73.4 × 51.9 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke
of Tuscany; inventory record: '41. Forteresse
nommée Victoria, dans l'île d' Amboine, l'une
des Moluques'.

Fort Victoria, on the island of Ambon, was the Dutch East India Company's first permanent military settlement in Asia. Founded in 1521 by the Portuguese with the name Forte de Nossa Senhora da Anunciada, and known as Kota Laha in the local language, the Dutch called it Fort Victoria after seizing it in 1606 without a fight. Fort Victoria and Ambon (see CdC 1) were the Dutch East India Company's operative headquarters in the seas of South East Asia until 1619, when the governor general of the East Indies, Jan Pieterszoon Coen (1587–1629), decided to found Batavia on the more strategic and centrally positioned island of Java, around 2700 kilometres west of the Maluku Islands. Nevertheless, Ambon and the nearby Banda Is-

lands continued to play an important role within the company's trading network because of their cultivation of spices, particularly nutmeg (see CdC 11). This Carta di Castello is a clear example of the colonial outlook and urbanization: in the centre of the city and the depiction we see the fort, the arsenal, a fleet of *fluyt* (literally 'flute', the East and West India Companies' cargo ships armed with fifteen guns) and the plantations of spice and palm trees. Another striking element is the orderliness: the city and landscape are clearly defined, organized, almost itemized. The luxuriant equatorial nature is divided into geometrically aligned plots.

[AC]

Other copies

one-off;

similar map: NA, 4.VEL1327.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 133, no. 51;

Gosselink 2007, p. 149, no. 202;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 14
Cartagena
Cartagena de Indias, Colombia

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665–8

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed
paper, 76.8 × 52.7 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand
duke of Tuscany; inventory record: '69. Vue
de la ville et port de Cartagene sur le Golf
d'Hon[...] en Atlantique'.

Founded in 1535 by the *conquistador* Pedro de
Heredia (1505–54), Cartagena became – along
with Veracruz, in Mexico – the main port of
arrival for slaves being brought in from Africa
and sold to the Spanish by the Portuguese
slave traders operating in West Africa. From
Cartagena, the slaves were then sent all over
the Viceroyalty of Peru, the Viceroyalty of New
Granada and the Dutch West Indies. Its great
wealth attracted the attention of primarily
British, French and Dutch corsairs who, from
the mid-16th century onwards, attacked and
sacked the city on a number of occasions despite
the formidable fortifications erected by the
Spanish. In 1610, Cartagena also became
home to the Court of the Inquisition. In 1984,

the colonial historic centre of Cartagena was
made a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Drawn
in the same style as the maps of Portobelo and
Santa Marta (CdC 9 and 10), the profile of the
Cartagena de Indias coastline shows the mighty
fortifications built during the 16th and 17th
century to protect the city against attacks by
enemy fleets (including those of Francis Drake
in 1558, mentioned in the key, under letter H).
In addition to the forts (C, D, E, F), we can also
see the entrance gates, the bridges and the
landing places (G, H, K, L, M, N O), revealing
the predominantly military function of this
type of map.

[AC]

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Other copies
Van der Hem, 44:27.

—
Selected bibliography
Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 131, no. 19;
Van der Krogt 2005, p. 526;
Gosselink 2007, p. 143, no. 59.



Carte di Castello 15

*Carte ofte Afteijkeninge van de
Eijlanden van BANDA waer in verthoont
wort alle de Cassteelen Reduijten
Negrijs Beset Met Noote Mischaet
Bommen Gilijck die bij de Eijgenaers
bisi[...] wordene*

Map of the Banda Islands showing all
the castles, fortifications and villages
covered with nutmeg trees as they are
[...] by the landowners

Banda Islands, Indonesia

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1660

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
72.8 × 47.5 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany; inventory record: '43. Carte de Banda,
l'une des Moluques et l'une des cinq [...]'.

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Other copies

ÖNB, AB 300 Kar;
Van der Hem, 40:18.

—

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 133, no. 52;
Van der Krogt 2005, pp. 352–4;
Gosselink 2007, pp. 149–50, no. 203;
Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.

The extraordinary map of the Banda Islands, in the Maluku archipelago, combines the highly detailed nautical chart of the coastal profiles with a pictorial bird's eye view of the island territories and a meticulous cadastral map of the land planted with nutmeg trees. There are also around one hundred measurements of the depths of the seabed and landing places. These four characteristics combined make this map – based on accurate measurements made in situ, then copied at Johannes Vingboons' workshop in Amsterdam – one of the finest examples of mid-17th century cartography. It exemplifies the use of cartography as a navigational aid, as a chorographic representation of territories and seas – note the Gunung Api volcano erupting – and of the cadastral, administrative and economic division of the land for colonial and

trading purposes. The territory is divided into one hundred numbered plots. We can also see the fortifications that protect the landing places. The Banda Islands were the only place in the world where these trees grew until the 19th century. Discovered by the Portuguese naval officer Antonio de Abreu in 1512, the Dutch East India Company began to build fortifications there a century later in 1609. Jan Pieterszoon Coen (1587–1629), fourth governor general of the East Indies, founder of Batavia and strategist behind the Dutch trading empire, built a chain of forts with the objective of establishing a world monopoly in the nutmeg trade with Europe and India. The Carta di Castello paints an accurate picture of the progressive colonization and control of the Maluku Islands.

[AC]



Carte di Castello 16

Afbeeldinge van de Stadt San Paulo de Maccao op de Custe van China in India

View of the city of São Paulo de Macau on the coast of China in India

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, before 1667

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
77.5 × 53.4 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke
of Tuscany; inventory record: '40. Plan de la ville
de Macao dans l'île de Gornam sur les côtes de la
Chine'.

The city of Macau was officially founded by Portuguese merchants in 1557, by permission of the Chinese authorities in Canton. This concession ensured the Portuguese had a permanent warehouse for managing trade between Hirado and, from 1569, Nagasaki and China, trading Chinese silk and porcelain acquired collectively by the Portuguese in the nearby Canton, with silver from the Iwami Ginzan mines in Japan. A ship, the so-called *nao do trato*, guaranteed the connection once a year. Macao, together with Goa, Kochi, Malacca and Nagasaki, was one of the nerve centres of the Portuguese empire in Asia. It also became a crucial Jesuit base. They built the church of the Madre de Deus and a seminar there, using the latter as the starting point for their missions to China.

Since the Dutch wanted to penetrate the rich Chinese market but did not have any ware-

houses in China, the Dutch East India Company tried to establish itself in Macao on a number of occasions. Following the Iberian Union (1580–1644), the Dutch attacked the Portuguese in Asia and the Atlantic during their war against the Spanish. In June 1622, an entire Dutch fleet with 1300 soldiers on board, including Japanese soldiers, tried to conquer Macao, but was seen off by the Portuguese. The outcome was disastrous. The Chinese saw the Dutch as pirates and refused to trade with them, even forcing them to leave the Ilha dos Pescadores in 1624 for Formosa (see CdC 12).

The Carta di Castello, which is probably missing its key, offers one of the most detailed illustrations of Macao. The fortifications stand out, while in the top right corner we can see the church and religious complex of Madre de Deus and São Paulo, one of the biggest in Asia.

[AC]

Other copies

Van der Hem, 41:19.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, I, p. 120, IV, p. 133, no. 63;

Van der Krogt 2005, pp. 389–91;

Gosselink 2007, p. 150, no. 227;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.;

Domingues 2016, s.v.



Carte di Castello 17
Caert van 't Eylandt Sto Thome
Map of São Tomé Island
São Tomé and Príncipe

Johannes Vingboons and his workshop

Inscriptions: 'J. Vingboons fecit' on the right

Amsterdam, c. 1665–8

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
72.6 × 51 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke
of Tuscany; inventory record: '55. L'île Saint
Thomas'.

Situated in the Atlantic, around 260 kilometres from the coasts of present-day Ghana and Equatorial Guinea – known as the 'Gold Coast' – the volcanic island of São Tomé, which rises to over 2000 metres, was discovered by the Portuguese in 1470. Its vicinity to the African coast made it a strategic landing place, particularly for travelling to the Kingdom of Kongo. It was in São Tomé that the Portuguese began to develop a colonial trading model based on the harsh African slave trade and sugar cane cultivation. Furthermore, in order to combat demographic disparity, mixed unions were encouraged between Portuguese men and local women, whose children were referred to as the *filhos da terra*, a mixed-race elite. Following the discovery of Brazil, the slave trade towards the New World became the main business in São Tomé, as it did on the island of Gorée (see CdC 6), around 3500 kilometres to the north-west.

In 1595, the slave revolts, headed by a slave called Amador, who was later executed, and

the development of the most profitable colonies in Brazil, convinced the Portuguese to stop investing in the island. A few decades later, in 1641, Admiral Cornelis Jol (1597–1641), at the command of a fleet of twenty-one ships belonging to the Dutch West India Company, set sail from the city of Recife in Brazil and occupied São Tomé Island, moving on from there to take over the Portuguese colonial city of Luanda, in present-day Angola. These conquests marked the Dutch West India Company's period of greatest expansion. The Dutch rule lasted until 1648, when the Portuguese regained possession of both São Tomé and Luanda.

The Carta di Castello, which in this exceptional case bears the signature of Johannes Vingboons, features the coastal profile and the measurements of the sea depths, as well as showing the impressive orographic profile of São Tomé, a reference point for navigation in the equatorial Atlantic.

[AC]

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Other copies

BAV, Reg. Lat. 2107-22, fol. 45r;

NA, 4.VELH619-102;

Van der Hem, 36:24.

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Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 131, no. 32;

Gosselink 2007, pp. 97, 147, no. 159;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.;

Domingues 2016, s.v.



Carte di Castello 18

*Afbeeldinge van de Stadt Amsterdam
in Nieuw Neederlandt*

Map of the city of Amsterdam

[New York, formerly New Amsterdam]

in the Nieuw Neederlandt

[New Netherlands]

New York, United States of America

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop, after Jacques Courtelyou, 1660

Amsterdam, after 1660

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
66.5 × 52.1 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke
of Tuscany; inventory record: '8. Vue de [...] Amste[...] appel [...]'.
[SC]

This plan of New York is the most famous in the Carte di Castello collection. It is a one-off among the examples of maps by Vingboons and the only plan testifying to the Dutch period of this city, which passed into the hands of the British in 1664 (when its name was changed from New Amsterdam to New York, marking its passage from Dutch colony to British colony). The meticulous details, both in the reproduction of the built-up area, but also of the green spaces and gardens, makes it an invaluable testimony to the early phase of development of this city that has gone on to become an icon. The Dutch settlement, built in around 1624, came one century after the arrival of the Florentine Giovanni da Verrazzano who was the first to reach the bay, called New Angoulême in tribute to his king, while in the service of Francis I, King of France. The Dutch turned New Amsterdam into one of the Dutch West India Company's most important trading centres, particularly as regards the fur trade.

Archive sources enable us to reconstruct the New Amsterdam of the second half of the 17th century with great accuracy. It was very similar to Dutch cities of the same period, with 342 houses, a fort, a city hall, a cemetery, a weigh house, a fish market and the West India Company gardens. It has also been possible to uncover information regarding the origin of the plan. Indeed, Johannes Vingboons based his plan on the work of Jacques Cortelyou, a Dutch surveyor and cartographer who was asked to produce a detailed plan of the city in 1660 by the burgomaster of New Amsterdam. Despite the short period of Dutch rule, the name places of present-day New York still contain fundamental traces of it: Broadway (from *Breedewegh*, the 'wide' street), Harlem (from the eponymous Dutch city) and Wall Street (from the Dutch 'wal' meaning river bank).

[SC]

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Other copies
one-off.

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Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, pp. 89–91, 130, no. 2;

Gosselink 2007, pp. 68–9, 142, no. 31;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 19

*'t Fort Nassau Gelegen op de Cust
van Guinea*

Fort Nassau on the Guinea coast

Fort Nassau, Ghana

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, before 1667

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
72.4 × 50 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany.

The Dutch fleets began drawing closer to the African coasts occupied by the Portuguese in the late 16th century, building warehouses and prisons for the slave trade there, protected by military outposts. Within the context of the wars that pitted the Dutch against the Spanish crown, the war also affected Portuguese colonial possessions in the Atlantic and Asia. The construction of Fort Nassau in 1612, named in tribute to Prince Maurits van Nassau (1567–1625, *stadhouder* of the Dutch republic from 1585 to 1625) was part of the strategy for the protection of territories between the cities of Apam and Elmina on the ‘Costa de ouro’ – from 1598 the ‘Nederlandse Goudkust’ – in present-day Ghana, to defend them against attacks from the Portuguese who believed the Dutch occupation to be illegal. In 1624, Fort Nassau came un-

der the jurisdiction of the Dutch West India Company, founded in 1621. The fort was extended, becoming the main Dutch stronghold on the equatorial African coast, before they seized Elmina and its historic fort from the Portuguese in 1637.

The Carta di Castello highlights the imposing structure of the fort above, which was also used as a prison for slave trafficking (A–K) and is shown in a different scale compared to the rest of the map. The set of keys describes the bastions and the complex defence structure, which overlooks the settlement with the central market (Q). The tiny detail of the canoe, in the middle of the bay, shows a Dutch official commanding African rowers. This image reinforces the military and colonial nature of these depictions.

[AC]

Other copies

BAV, Reg. Lat. 2107-21, fol. 43r;

BL, Add. Ms 33976, I.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 131, no. 29;

Gosselink 2007, pp. 91, 147, no. 154;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 20

*Aldus vertoont haer de TAFEL BAY
Geleegen aende Cabo de Bona Esperanca*

Thus appears Table Bay
at the Cape of Good Hope
Cape Town, South Africa

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
70.9 × 51.8 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke
of Tuscany; inventory record: '59. Vue de la Baye
du Colle de la Table sous le Cap de Bonne
Esperance'.

After fifty years of sailing along the African coasts and in the Atlantic, the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope in 1488 by the ships of the Portuguese explorer Bartolomeu Dias (1450–1500) marked a fundamental turning point in the history of European expansion. This global phenomenon made it possible to link the Mediterranean and European Atlantic coasts within a single immense route incorporating the Indian Ocean, the China Sea and the countless islands of South East Asia. The long beaches of Table Bay, near the Cape of Good Hope, were an excellent stopping point for the fleets of the Dutch East India Company, especially when returning towards Europe. The Portuguese, on the other hand, preferred to stop along the coasts of Mozambique, near the Ilha

de Moçambique, in Lourenço Marques, present-day Maputo (see CdC 73, 75–7).

In 1652, the Dutch East India Company, guided by Johan Anthoniszoon van Riebeeck (1619–77), built an outpost near Table Bay, the present-day Cape Town, coming into contact with the local Khoi population, referred to as Hottentots by the Dutch (see CdC 79–82). They built defensive fortifications along the coast in 1666. Over the course of three centuries, dozens of maps of Table Bay testify to the strategic importance of this stretch of coast in present-day South Africa. The Castello collection also includes a second wonderful view of the same piece of coastline, seen from the sea (CdC 47).

[AC]

Other copies

BAV, Reg. Lat. 2107-25, fol. 52r;

NA, 4.VELH619-37;

Van der Hem, 3804.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, I, p. 13, IV, p. 131, no. 33;

Van der Krogt 2005, p. 233;

Gosselink 2007, pp. 98–9, 147–8, no. 164;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.;

Domingues 2016, *s.v.*



Carte di Castello 21

De Noord zijde van 't Eijlandt TYDORE

Northern part of the island of Tidore

Tidore, Maluku Islands, Indonesia

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, before 1667

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
66 × 51.1 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke
of Tuscany; inventory record: 'L'isle de Tydor,
l'une des Moluques, pres de Gilolo, elle n'a que 12
lieues de circuit et a son Roy'.

The small sultanate of Tidore, on the volcanic island of the same name, south of the larger island of Ternate, was one of the principal kingdoms in the Maluku Islands. From the mid-16th century onwards, the Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch succeeded one another in Tidore, building warehouses and military outposts for the clove trade. However, the sultanate kept its independence and actually used the profits obtained from trading with European merchants to expand its influence in the Maluku archipelago, competing with the nearby sultanate of Ternate.

The Dutch East India Company reached Tidore in 1605, taking over from their Portuguese competitors. However, the sultan asked for support from the Spanish, who travelled regularly to Tidore from Manila. The Spanish established a fortified warehouse there and occupied it until 1663, albeit not consistently. Anyway, the Dutch East India Company subsequently

ensured its monopoly of the spice trade in the Maluku Islands by gaining control of the Banda Islands and Ambon (see CdC 1, 13 and 15) in addition to Tidore.

The composition of this well-worn Carta di Castello is probably based on an original at the Badische Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe, which is much more legible and dates to 1601. The imposing profile of Tidore volcano stands out, its slopes covered with luxuriant vegetation, while we can see a number of ships at anchor in the bay given the lack of a natural harbour. The key in the Karlsruhe map explains that these are Spanish ships from the Philippines, as well as Portuguese and Dutch ships. In addition to the Dutch ships, which include a *fluyt*, the Carta di Castello also includes highly detailed images of two *karakoa*, large warships from the Philippines, powered by oars and sails, which could carry hundreds of rowers and warriors.

[AC]

Other copies

one-off; possibly derived from Badische
Landesbibliothek, K499b, fol. 2, 1601.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 133, no. 54;

Gosselink 2007, p. 149, no. 205;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 22

[*Baya de Manilha*]

Bay and city of Manila, Philippines

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
70.6 × 50.5 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany; inventory record: '12. Baye de Manille,
l'une des plus grandes des Philippines'.

The Philippines were first reached by the expedition across the Pacific headed by Fernão de Magalhães and Juan Sebastián Elcano in 1521, then again in 1527 by an expedition sent out by Hernán Cortés, and on various occasions after 1530. However, the Spanish took more than forty years to discover a *tornaviaje* route back to Acapulco, sailing east across the Pacific. Between June and October 1565, four vessels captained by Miguel López de Legazpi (c. 1502–72) and guided by the Augustinian friar Andrés de Urdaneta (1502–68) managed to return to Acapulco following a north-east course across the Pacific, discovering the Kuroshio current (black current) that flows east from Japan. In 1565, Legazpi founded the city of Villa de San Miguel, present-day Cebu, on the east coast of the Philippines. In 1570 he moved north-west, to the island of Luzón, in a Muslim region ruled by three *rajà*. The Spanish waged war against them and built a fort near present-day Manila. In 1574 Philip II granted it city status and in 1595 it was proclaimed capital of the Philip-

pines, a strategic port between 'New Spain', China, Japan and the 'spice islands' in South East Asia. As early as 1600, prior to the foundation of the Dutch East India Company, a Dutch fleet attacked Manila. This was followed by further attacks in 1624 and again in 1647, headed by Pieter de Gooyer.

The Carta di Castello, with Dutch and Portuguese ships as well as a *karakoa* – a warship used by the Kapampangan and Visayan peoples native to the Philippines (see CdC 21) – shown in the bay, could refer to this episode. The highly detailed bird's eye view depicts the Cavita fort and the main churches, as well as illustrating the streets and their names, the landing places and the bustling activities taking place in the port. Just seventy years after its foundation, Manila had become a large and cosmopolitan colonial city. Silver from the Bolivian mines in Potosí arrived there via Acapulco and was even transported to China on the Galeón de Manila, known as the Nao de China.

[AC]

Other copies

Van der Hem, 49:29.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 133, no. 57, V,
pp. 173–4; Van der Krogt 2005, p. 367;
Gosselink 2007, p. 150, no. 213; *Atlas of
Mutual Heritage*, s.v.



Mocha, Yemen

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany; inventory record: '6. Mocha dans l' Arab[...]'.

The name Mocha is indicative of the main product traded in this city in the Yemen: coffee. In fact, until the early 18th century Mocha was one of the main ports for exporting the *Coffea arabica* grown in the inland regions but sold in this city due to its strategic location at the entrance to the Red Sea. The Dutch East India Company opened a *comptoir* in 1621, but trade was complicated for many years by the difficult political situation and the problematic relations with the Turkish and Yemenite authorities. Because of this, in the late 17th century the company successfully transferred its coffee production to the island of Java, earning itself a leading position on this market. The trading post in Mocha was closed in 1739.

The map by Vingboons is probably based on a print by Adriaen Matham (1616), in his turn inspired by a sketch produced in 1614 by Pieter van den Broecke on board the *Nassau* when exploring the area's trading potential for the first time. The map shows Dutch ships in the port of Mocha, home to the commercial offices of the European companies. Indeed, British and French companies operated here alongside the Dutch. The minaret of Mocha's mosque can be seen in the central section of the map.

[SC]

Other copies
one-off.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 132, no. 39;
Gosselink 2007, pp. 106, 148, no. 175;
Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 24

*Van Diemens Rhede, op de Zuyder Breede
van 21 Graden, 20 minuten en Longitudo
[1]5 gr. 29 minuten*

Van Diemen's natural harbour, calculation
of the position, on a southern latitude
of 21°20' and longitude of 15°20'
Tasmania

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, before 1667

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
68.9 × 47.6 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke
of Tuscany; inventory record: '28. Côtes de Diemens
sur le 20 [...]'.

—

Other copies
one-off.

—

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 133, no. 56;
Gosselink 2007, p. 149, no. 210.

This map, which is a one-off by Johannes Vingboons, is based on drawings in the journal of Abel Tasman (1603–59), which describes his journeys to Tasmania and New Zealand (1642–4). Employed by the Dutch East India Company, Tasman set off from Batavia to explore the 'southern lands'. On 24 November 1642 he sighted the west coast of Tasmania, named 'Van Diemen's Land' after the governor of the Dutch Indies, Anthony van Diemen. On his voyage back to Batavia, Tasman passed through the Tonga archipelago (see CdC 37). Tasman's travel journal, now at the Nationaal Archief (Aanwinsten Eerste Afdeling, nummer toegang 1.11.01.01, inventarisnummer 121) in the Hague, contains a detailed description of his voyage and also includes drawings and cartographic material by the merchant and artist Isaack Gilseman, who illustrated Tasman and his travel companions' discovery of the new lands and their inhabitants.

This map is a particularly detailed reproduction of the drawing that illustrates the description of 23 January 1643, in which the Dutch ships are moored in the natural harbour (*reede*), called 'Van Diemens Rhede' as we read in the title, and the locals approach the ships bearing coconuts and tubers. The keys visible in the centre of the map are also transcribed from Tasman's journal. They highlight the sailor's ethnographic approach and his attention to geographical and topographical detail. The map shows the Dutch ships (A); the small boats in which the locals are bringing gifts to the Dutch ships in the name of their king (B); a sailing vessel with two bows linked by a wooden section (C); a fishing boat (D); the locals swimming towards the Dutch ships (E); the king's residence on the coast (F).

[sc]

Carte di Castello 25

CARTE VAN 'T CASTEEL DE MINA

*Met syn omleggende dorpen Rivieren
Clippen ende Droochten Alles in Platte
Forme Vertoont*

Map of the Castle of Mina

[São Jorge da Mina] with the surrounding
villages, rivers, rocks and shallows,
all in planimetry

Elmina, Ghana

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
71.8 × 50.6 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke
of Tuscany; inventory record: '32. Vue du fort de
la Mina [...]'.

—

Other copies

BAV, Reg. Lat. 2107-17, fol. 35r;

BL, Add. Ms 33976, K;

NA, 4.VELH619-77;

Van der Hem, 36:20.

—

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925-33, IV, pp. 116, 131, no. 30;

Van der Krogt 2005, p. 131;

Gosselink 2007, pp. 95, 147, no. 155;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.;

Domingues 2016, *s.v.*

Two Carte di Castello, nos. 25 and 57, both attributable to the Dutch West India Company, feature the fort and warehouse of São Jorge da Mina, on the African coast of the Gulf of Guinea, in present-day Ghana, which was conquered by the Dutch in 1637. Built in 1482 by Diogo de Azambuja at the behest of the Portuguese king, John II of Portugal, El Mina was the first fortress to be constructed by the Portuguese in sub-Saharan Africa, following its progressive advance, from around 1455, along the African coasts and the discovery of gold. After Arguin, an island on the west coast of Mauritania (see CdC 34 and 65), São Jorge 'of the mine' served the purpose of providing a stable outpost for buying African gold exchanged for slaves – brought in from other African regions, such as the powerful kingdom of Benin – and other goods, with the local kingdoms of Guinea and making provisions for its transportation and mining. This trade expanded for over a century, attracting the interest of French, British

and – from the early 17th century – Dutch pirates. The general weakening of the Portuguese empire on a global scale, caused in part by the wars against the Dutch in the Indian Ocean, South East Asia and the Atlantic, following the Iberian Union, and in part by the flow of gold to Europe from Mexico, which affected the financial gains to be had from trading African gold, enabled the Dutch to conquer São Jorge da Mina in 1637 and, subsequently, also Luanda and São Tomé (see CdC 17).

This thorough planimetry of the fort of Mina, accompanied by a key – much faded on the Carta di Castello, but still legible in the three copies of the map listed below and available to consult online – provides highly detailed images of the fort, the river, the village, the wells, the warehouses and, on the other side of the river, the Fort of São Tiago da Mina, constructed by the Dutch in 1652.

[AC]

New York, USA

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany; inventory record: '7. Carte [...]'.
 100

The ‘De MANATVVS. op de Noort Riuier’ map is the second Carta di Castello to feature the area occupied by present-day New York. The headquarters of the Dutch East India Company were here, in the Nieuw-Nederland colony, until 1664, the year the city passed into the hands of the British (see CdC 18). Unlike the map of New Amsterdam, which provides a detailed reproduction of the settlement, the *Manatus* map depicts the island now known as Manhattan, the western part of Long Island, Staten Island, Sandy Hook, Upper and Lower Bay, Newark Bay (indicated as *Achter col*), Jersey Shore and part of what is now the Bronx. The map, painted in around 1660, shows the situation in 1639 (as indicated explicitly under point 2 in the key: ‘in this moment, in the year 1639’), the year a decision was made to create a detailed reconstruction of the Dutch colony, the organization of the land and its inhabitants.

The quadrilateral shape of Fort Amsterdam (A), the Dutch West India Company's centre of power, can be seen at the tip of Manhattan, in a strategic location at the mouth of the Hudson River. Construction work began on the fort in 1626 and was completed in 1634. The company also owned at least six other buildings, all on the coast of Manhattan Island, just a short distance from Fort Amsterdam (1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6). The rest of the territory is occupied by farms of various sizes (indicated by the term *plantage*, which literally means plantation, or *bouwerij*) and three mills (B, C, D). In keeping with the typical model from the Netherlands, the farms consisted of a principal building, used for the inhabitants and the livestock, and a secondary building, used as a hay barn. Outside the settlement, indicated with the letter F, we see the 'neighbourhood of Company slaves', who were also used to build the fort.

[SC]

LOC, G329I.S12 coll. H3, Vault: Harrisse
Collection, vol. 3, map 12.

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 27

*De Stadt MALAYA Ende Tolouco
gelegen aen de oost sijde vandt eilandt
Ternate*

The cities of Malaya and Tolouco
on the east coast of the island of Ternate
Ternate, Maluku Islands, Indonesia

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, before 1667

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
66 × 51.4 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany; inventory record: '6. [...]'.

—

Other copies

Van der Hem, 40:12.

—

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 133, no. 53, V, p. 172;

Van der Krogt 2005, pp. 339, 342–3;

Gosselink 2007, p. 149, no. 204;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.

Like the island and rival sultanate of Tidore (see CdC 21), the island and sultanate of Ternate forms part of the Maluku Islands. As in the case of Tidore, the depiction is dominated by a volcano, the Gamalama in this case, with a luxuriant tropical forest covering its slopes. Ternate, like Tidore, was one of the main places for growing and trading cloves in South East Asia and the Indian Ocean. In order to benefit from this spice trade, the Portuguese obtained the sultan's permission to build a fortified warehouse there in 1522. In 1535 they conquered Ternate and deposed the sultan, sending him to Goa. In 1570, the violent conduct of the Portuguese, who had beheaded Hairun the sultan, led to a revolt among the local population and the colonists were confined to their fort for five years. The Portuguese left Ternate for Ambon (see CdC 1) in 1575 and the sultanate became one of the main opponents to the Portuguese presence in South East Asia. Within the context of the conflicts that took place in the Indian Ocean between the Islamic sultanates and

the Portuguese, Ternate attracted the attention of the Ottoman admiral Kurtoğlu Hızır Reis, who intended to travel to South East Asia, Java and Borneo as part of the Ottoman expedition to Sumatra between 1568 and 1569, after conquering Aceh. His venture was not a success and he was stopped by the Portuguese near Sumatra. Ternate afterwards became one of the places fought over between the Spanish, based primarily in Tidore, who settled on the southern side of the island, in the Ciudad del Rosario, and the Dutch. The Dutch East India Company built a fort in Ternate in 1607. The sultans took advantage of their presence and the profits deriving from the trading concessions to fight the Spanish, who ended up leaving Ternate and Tidore in 1563, seeking refuge in the Philippines. From then on, until the 18th century, the Dutch East India Company was the main European company operating in the Maluku Islands.

[sc]



*Aenwijzing vande voornaemste Plaetsen
op Taijonuan*

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
71.1, × 48.9 cm

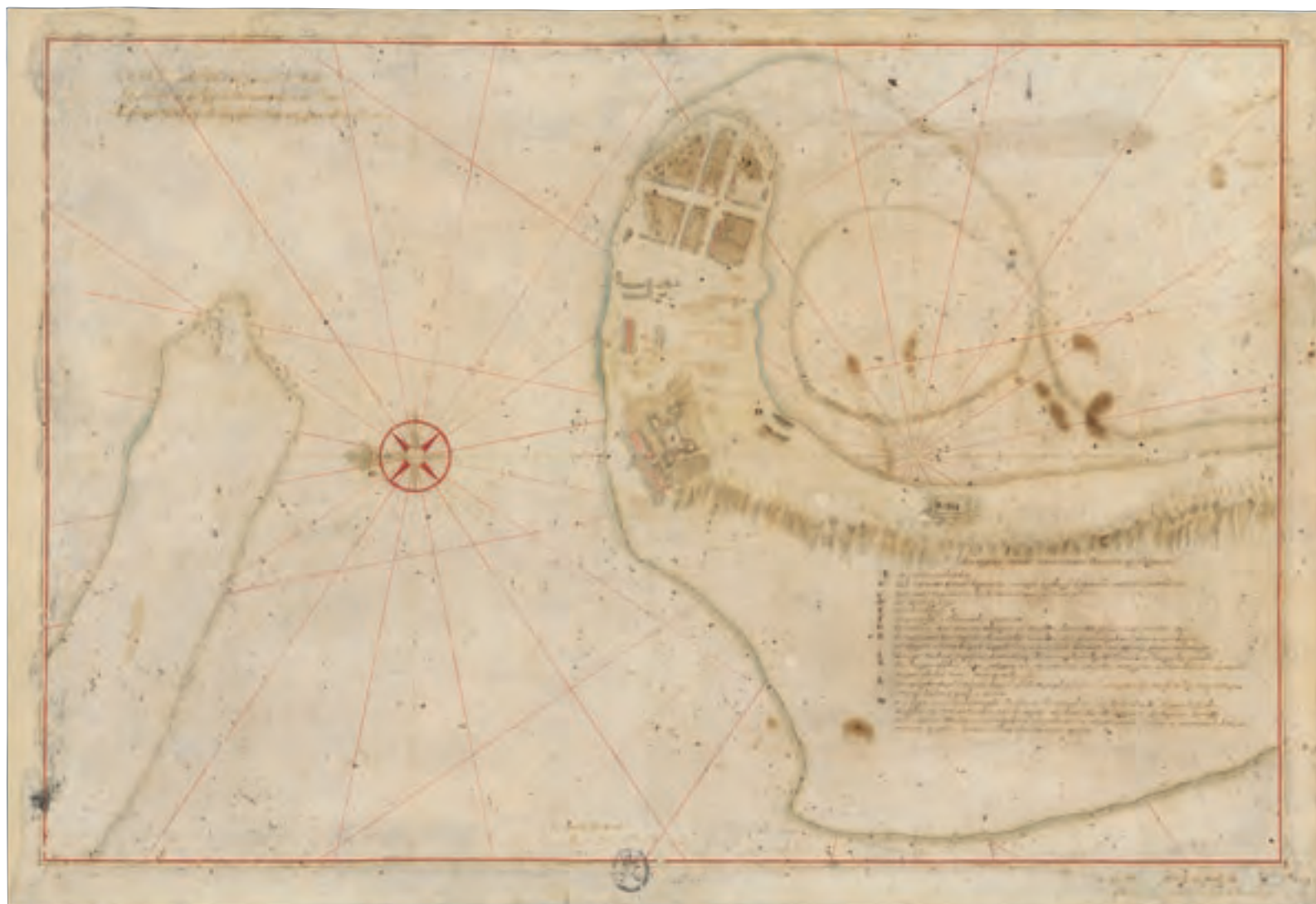
As the title suggests, this map shows the main places on the island of Taiwan, a subject already depicted in CdC 7, but in this case presented on a more accurate plan and accompanied by a reference to the geographical location of Taiwan ('north of the Equator at a latitude of 22 degrees and 56 minutes'; for an overall view of the island of Taiwan, see CdC 12). The map features the main buildings, indicated by the key, including Fort Zeelandia (home of the governor of Formosa, A; see CdC 33), the company headquarters with a warehouse and a home for employees (B), the accommodation built in 1628 by Pieter Nuyts (1598–1655; C), the hospital (D), the cemetery (E) and the Chinese quarter (F). There are also references to docking bays for Chinese and Dutch ships (G, H, I).

The reference to Pieter Nuyts is particularly interesting, inasmuch as it allows us to reconstruct a period of tension between the Dutch and Japanese regarding the control of Taiwan. Nuyts was appointed governor of Taiwan in 1627 and also ambassador in Japan at the same time, tasked with discussing the control of the island with the shogun. Nuyts failed in his attempt and diplomatic and commercial relations between the Dutch East India Company and Japan deteriorated to such an extent during his governorship that the shogun was permitted to place him under house arrest (from 1632 to 1636). Upon his release, Nuyts was stripped of the title of governor and sent firstly to Batavia, before being repatriated to Holland.

[SC]

Van der Hem, 41:04.

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 133, no. 59;
Van der Krogt 2005, pp. 339, 372–3;
Gosselink 2007, p. 150, no. 217;
Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 29

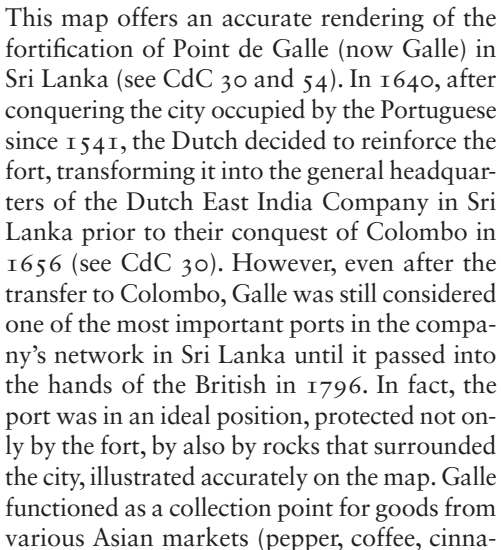
*Afbeelding van de Fortificatie der Stadt
Punta GALA, met haere straten, opt
Eylandt CEYLON*

Representation of the fortification
of the city Point de Galle with its streets
on the island of Ceylon
Galle, Sri Lanka

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665–8

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
68.2 × 50 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany; inventory record: '47[?]. Vue de la vi[...]
de Ceylo[n]'.


This map offers an accurate rendering of the fortification of Point de Galle (now Galle) in Sri Lanka (see CdC 30 and 54). In 1640, after conquering the city occupied by the Portuguese since 1541, the Dutch decided to reinforce the fort, transforming it into the general headquarters of the Dutch East India Company in Sri Lanka prior to their conquest of Colombo in 1656 (see CdC 30). However, even after the transfer to Colombo, Galle was still considered one of the most important ports in the company's network in Sri Lanka until it passed into the hands of the British in 1796. In fact, the port was in an ideal position, protected not only by the fort, but also by rocks that surrounded the city, illustrated accurately on the map. Galle functioned as a collection point for goods from various Asian markets (pepper, coffee, cinna-

mon, but also fabrics and shells) and ships departed Galle for the Netherlands every year in December, passing around the Cape of Good Hope and then following the Atlantic route together with the ships from Batavia.

The map shows how imposing the fortified zone really was, protected by bastions and accessed via two main gates near the home of the governor (*Gouverneur huis*), meaning that they were therefore easy to monitor. Inside the fortification, the street layout is extremely regular, overlooked by homes and company warehouses, churches, the hospital and a *rasphuis*, a place of detention and forced labour, where the prisoners were condemned to rasp 'pau brasil' (*Caesalpinia echinata*) wood for the production of the precious red pigment for dyeing fabrics.

[sc]

Other copies

Van der Hem, 39:06.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 132, no. 45, V, p. 167;

Van der Krogt 2005, p. 286;

Gosselink 2007, p. 149, no. 188;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 30

*Afbeelding van de Stadt Colombo
op t Eijlandt Ceijlon, Benevens haer
Beleg en veroveringh*

Representation of the city of Columbus
on the island of Ceylon, before the siege
and conquest

Colombo, Sri Lanka

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
70.4 × 49.5 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany; inventory record: '48. Vue de la ville de
Colombo dans l'île de Ceylon'.

This map shows the city of Colombo in around 1656, the year it was conquered by the Dutch. The city belonged to the Portuguese who, having arrived in Sri Lanka in the early 16th century, had controlled the entire coast since 1593, choosing Colombo as their capital and fortifying it. After the conquest, the Dutch East India Company decided to move its general headquarters from Galle (see CdC 29) to Colombo, making it a collection point for costly cinnamon, Sri Lanka's most famous and profitable spice, and a spearhead for trade. During the process of conquering the island, the Dutch forged an alliance with King Rajasinha II of Kandy in 1638, promising protection from the Portuguese in exchange for a trading monopoly. Although relations with the kingdom of

Kandy were not simple, groups from the local population were also involved in the cinnamon production and trading process, demonstrating how they worked closely together.

This map, probably based on an earlier Portuguese map, shows references (not present in other copies) to a key that does not seem to have been transcribed. However, the references appear to be linked to the main phases of the assault and the strategy followed to conquer the city. The bastions (e.g. nos. 3, 6, 12 and 13) are indicated, as are the siege stations (e.g. nos. 4, 14 and 16). The map commemorates one of the most intense moments in the war between the Dutch and Portuguese for control over the East Indies spice trade.

[sc]

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Other copies
NA, 4.VELH619-115;
Van der Hem, 39:05.

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Selected bibliography
Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 132, no. 43, V, p. 166;
Van der Krogt 2005, pp. 283–5;
Gosselink 2007, pp. 11, 148, no. 186;
Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 31

*Afbeeldinghe van de Custe In America
van de Caep Orange af tot de Riuier
Caijanij op 5 Graden bij noorden
de linie*

View of the coast of America
from Cape d'Orange to the Caijanij
River [Kourou River] up to 5° north
of the equatorial line

Coast of French Guiana

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
64.1 × 48.1 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany; inventory record: '8[...] Le cap [...]'.

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Other copies:
one-off.

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Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 131, no. 20;
Gosselink 2007, pp. 84, 144, no. 89;
Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.

This map outlines the coast to the west of Cape d'Orange, the north-western tip of Brazil, which borders part of French Guiana. The territory forms part of the so-called 'Wil-de Kust' (literally 'Wild Coast'), the northern part of South America that was controlled by the Dutch West India Company from 1621 onwards. A theatre of naval battles during the Second Anglo-Dutch War, the coast was definitively divided between the British and Dutch after the signing of the Treaty of Breda (1667): the Dutch were given the right to colonize Suriname, conquered at the expense of the British, but permanently lost their Nieuw-Nederland colony, which also included New Amsterdam (see CdC 18 and 26).

The key features some particularly interesting details regarding the conquest and the rela-

tions between representatives of the Dutch East India Company and the local population. The introduction to the key describes the territory as marshy and locally unhealthy, partly abandoned by the local population and difficult to cultivate. According to the description, the local population was sparse in this area and not very interesting in terms of trading, with the exception of a few sporadic exchanges of small objects and beverages. However, the places listed in the key are much more interesting, particularly in the area of the River Kourou (B, C, E). The governor's residence is indicated by the letter F. The letter G refers to a rocky zone, described by the explorer Otto Keye – cited directly in the key – as a potentially interesting and profitable place for colonization.

[sc]



Carte di Castello 32

Caert van RIO DE IANEIRO in Brasyl

Map of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, before 1667

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
64.1 × 47 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany; inventory record: '13. Carte de Rio [...] Le Bresil'.

Following the discovery of Brazil on 22 April 1500 by the Portuguese fleet commanded by Pedro Álvares Cabral (1467–c. 1520), the Portuguese reached the large bay now home to Rio de Janeiro (literally, 'river of January') on 1 January 1502, during the first official expedition to explore the new lands by the fleet commanded by Gaspar de Lemos. The area was inhabited by the Tupi people and did not see any stable European settlements for over half a century. It was only in around 1555 that a fleet guided by the Huguenot admiral Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon (1510–71), armed by Henri II of France, reached the Brazilian coasts and, violating the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) and the Treaty of Saragossa (1529), which divided the globe into two hemispheres assigned to the two Iberian crowns, founded a colonial settlement called 'France antarctique' (Antarctic France), in the large bay of Rio. A few years later, the Portuguese king, Sebastian I, sent a fleet to destroy the French colony. In 1565, the soldier Estácio de Sá (1520–67) founded the city of São Sebastião do Rio de Janeiro in the name of the Portuguese crown, definitively defeating the French and their native allies in 1567. However,

it was not until the 17th century – following the discovery of gold mines in the region of Minas Gerais, around 400 kilometres north-east of Rio, near the cities of Mariana, Vila Rica (now known as Ouro Preto) and Congonhas – that Rio de Janeiro became strategically important for transporting gold, inasmuch as it was closer and easier to reach from Minas Gerais than the then capital São Salvador da Bahia de Todos os Santos (CdC 44).

The Dutch West India Company occupied north-eastern Brazil, particularly the Pernambuco region, from 1630, and on a more decisive basis from 1638 during the governorship of Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen (1637–43). The Dutch settled in the cities of Recife, João Pessoa, Natal, São Luís, São Cristóvão, Fortaleza, Sirinhaém and Olinda. Nevertheless, they were also very interested in expanding towards the large and rich Portuguese colonial cities in southern Brazil. This explains the presence of maps of the bays of Rio, Salvador (CdC 44), Espírito Santo (CdC 45) and São Vicente (CdC 53) in the Dutch West India Company's map collections.

[AC]

Other copies

BAV, Reg. Lat. 2106-60, fol. 72r;

IAHGP, 12.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, pp. 115, 131, no. 23;

Gosselink 2007, p. 146, no. 127;

Domingues 2016, s.v.



Carte di Castello 33

*Affteijckening van 't fort Zeelandia
Gelegen in Tayouwan op een zandt
Plaets aen 't Eylandt Formosa Begrepen
door Ordere van de E: Heer Pieter de
Carpentier inde Jare 1624 inde in deeser
forme voltrocken bij de Heer Gouver
[neur] Hans Putmans*

Drawing of Fort Zeelandia in Taiwan
on a sandbar in the island of Formosa
conquered by order of the eminent
Mr Pieter de Carpentier in the year 1624
and in this form completed by the
Governor Hans Putmans
Taiwan

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
65.4 × 47.4 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke
of Tuscany; inventory record: '6. Vue du fort de
Zeeland[...] 1624 dans l'île de [...]'.
—

Other copies
one-off.
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Selected bibliography
Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 133, no. 61;
Gosselink 2007, p. 150, no. 219;
Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.

In the early 16th century, the Portuguese – followed by the Spanish in the middle of the century and the Dutch and British East India Companies towards the end of the century – attempted to start trading with Ming China (1368–1644) and, after the advent of the Manchurians, with Qing China (1644–1912). In 1557, the Chinese authorities allowed the Portuguese to construct a permanent warehouse and settle there, not far from Canton, in the Pearl River Delta. This settlement went on to become Macau. The Portuguese were permitted to attend fairs in Canton once a year to buy and sell goods, helping them to become established as mediators in the exchange of Japanese silver, mined in Iwami Ginzan and Ikune, for Chinese silk (see CdC 16). Meanwhile, from 1565 onwards, the Spanish began selling the Chinese silver mined primarily in Potosí and present-day Colombia (Nueva Granada), which was transported by the Galeón de Manila, also known as the Nao de China, passing through the Philippines and via Macau. Lastly, from the late 16th century, the Dutch also tried to establish stable trading relations with China, albeit unsuccessfully. In 1622, within the scenario of the wars being fought against the Spanish and Portuguese in Europe, the Atlantic Ocean, the Indian Ocean,

the China Sea and South East Asia, the Dutch East India Company attempted to conquer Macau. The attacks were fought off by the Portuguese, with the help of the Jesuits and slaves. As a result, the Chinese attacked the Dutch in 1624, considering them no better than pirates and forcing them to abandon their settlements in the Penghu Islands, between Formosa and the Chinese coast. The Dutch therefore congregated on the larger island of Formosa (Ilha Formosa, 'beautiful island', so-called by the Portuguese, see CdC 7, 28, 29). By order of Pieter de Carpentier (1586–1659), governor general of the Dutch East India Company from 1623 to 1627, they settled near the city of Taiwan, reinforcing a fortress previously known as Oranje, then as Provintia in 1625 and finally as Fort Zeelandia from 1627 onwards. Hans Putmans (d. 1654), governor of Formosa from 1629 to 1636, strengthened the bastions and expanded the structure. As well as showing the fort, the Carta di Castello also shows the ship repair yard, where we can see materials including huge wooden beams and bricks for building the fort. Following their defeat by the Chinese warlord Koxinga, the Dutch were forced to abandon Fort Zeelandia in late January 1662.

[AC]



Carte di Castello 34
*Het CASTEEL ARGYN, Geleegen
Benoorde Cabo Verde op 20 Graaden*
Arguin Castle at 20° North
of Cape Verde
Arguin, Mauritania

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
59.6 × 46.2 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand
Duke of Tuscany; inventory record: 'Forteres[...]
au Roya[...] cela Si'.

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Other copies

BAV, Reg. Lat. 2107-16, fol. 33r;
NA, 4.VELH619-20.

—
Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925-33, IV, p. 131, no. 27;
Gosselink 2007, p. 147, no. 151;
Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.;
Domingues 2016, s.v.

Two Carte di Castello, nos. 34 and 65, both attributable to the workshop of Johannes Vingboons, feature complementary pictorial views of the fort and prison used for the slave trade on the small island of Arguin. Map 34 is a view from land, while 65 is shown from the sea, probably from the mooring point. The arid and bare island of Arguin, situated in an inlet off the coast off present-day Mauritania, in the bay of the same name, was first discovered by the Portuguese explorer Nuno Tristão (d. 1446) in 1443 when navigating the African coast. After several decades during which the Portuguese limited themselves to plundering African shores, a fortified trading warehouse was built on the island of Arguin in 1445 by the order and initiative of Prince Henry, known as the Navigator (1394-1460). It was here that the Portuguese purchased gum arabic and slaves from Muslim traders and transported them to Lagos and Lisbon. The fortified warehouse of Arguin – actually a prison for the slave trade – was a prototype for Portuguese island occupation and the construction of economic and political colonial spaces along the African coast

and in the Atlantic, subsequently followed by the island of Gorée (CdC 6), São Tomé (CdC 17) and Cape Verde. However, the arid ground and the lack of large natural harbours soon relegated Arguin to a secondary role within the colonial economic system. In 1633, during the wars against Spain and Portugal and the union of the Iberian crowns (1580-1640), the Dutch attacked and conquered the island, going on to do the same with the fort in São Jorge da Mina (1637; CdC 25 e 57) and São Tomé (1641; CdC 17). With the exception of a brief period of occupation by the British in 1665, Arguin remained in the hands of the Dutch West India Company until 1678, when it passed to the French.

[AC]



Carte di Castello 35
Afteijkening van Baya Hondo
View of Baya Hondo
Gulf of Venezuela

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
62.7 × 46.9 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany; inventory record, unreadable.

This map shows the zone described as ‘Baya Hondo’, also known as the Gulf of Venezuela, which borders Lake Maracaibo (see CdC 38). Discovered in 1499 by an expedition headed by Alonso de Ojeda (1468–1515) and Juan de la Cosa, accompanied by the Florentine Amerigo Vespucci (1454–1512), the region (also known as the province of Coquivacoa) entered the orbit of Spanish colonial influence in 1501. It features in the group of maps that show the Caribbean zone towards Guyana, including Santa Marta (see CdC 10), Cartagena (see CdC 14), Lake Maracaibo (see CdC 38), Haiti and the Dominican Republic (see 42, 49, 50, 64) and Puerto Rico (see 36, 51).

The Carta di Castello offers an accurate representation of the coast, focusing both on the measurement of the depth and on the presence of shallows near the coasts. The key indicates two areas of *binnen waeter* (literally ‘internal waters’) and *verdroncken landt* (‘submerged land’) that pose a potential hazard to navigation. A small anchor drawn near one of the *fluyten*, the Dutch East India Company’s armed cargo ships, illustrates a cove suitable for mooring vessels.

[sc]

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Other copies

BAV, Reg. Lat. 2105-43, fol. 81r;

MM, WAE710-4;

NA, 4.VELH619-26.

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Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 131, no. 6;

Gosselink 2007, p. 142, no. 40;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 36

Aen wijsing vande vande voorneemst Plaetsen in Puerto Rico

Indication of the most important places in Puerto Rico

San Juan, Puerto Rico

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
64.6 × 47.8 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke
of Tuscany; inventory record: 'Vue de Porto ricco
Antilles en Amer[...]'.

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Other copies

BAV, Reg. Lat. 2105-40, fol. 77r;

BNF, ge C.1446(1)1;

NA, 4.VELH619-87;

NA, 4.VEL566;

Van der Hem, 44:19.

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Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925-33, I, p. 21, IV, p. 131, no. 12;

Van der Krogt 2005, p. 517;

Gosselink 2007, pp. 62, 143, no. 49;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.

This map shows part of the island of Puerto Rico, the city of San Juan with the fort of San Felipe del Morro (1), and forms a diptych with the bird's eye view depicted in CdC 51. Puerto Rico was a fundamental Caribbean trading and navigation hub for the Spanish (see CdC 10, 14, 36, 38, 42, 49, 50, 51, 64) and their general headquarters was represented by the 'Casteel genaemt Sant Philipppo', shown at the western tip of San Juan. Constructed in the late 16th century on the basis of a design by Juan de Tejada and the Italian engineer and architect Juan Bautista Antonelli (1547-1616), the fort formed part of a military consolidation project that also involved other colonies in the Spanish Empire, including Santo Domingo, Cartagena (see CdC 14), Santa Marta (see CdC 10) and Portobelo (see CdC 9). San Juan's strategic location attracted the attention of the Dutch East India Company, which unsuccessfully attempted to conquer the city

and the bay in 1625 (between September and November). Having escaped the risk of losing a key outpost in their trading network, the Spanish decided to reinforce the fort to protect the bay against any further attacks by the Dutch fleets.

The top part of the map features a key that lists 'the most important places in Puerto Rico': the fort (1), the cathedral with the bishopric (7), the market (8), a series of chapels (3, 6 and 11) and the sugar mills (18 and 21), as well as the central square with the court house (10). By comparing the key on the Carta di Castello with the one on the map at the Nationaal Archief in The Hague (4.VELH0619.87), we can observe that some of the entries differ slightly and there is an additional entry – no. 19 – in our map, referring to the small 'island of Claes Hendrickx' in the bay of Puerto Rico.

[sc]

Carte di Castello 37

[*Boat off the coast of Rotterdam island*]

Nomuka, Tonga

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, before 1667

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
66 × 48.6 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany; inventory note: '24. Deux [...] Hollande
c'est a dire envers le 20 degre de lat. Le 206 de
long'.

This map shows a boat off the coast of Nomuka, a small island in the Ha'apai archipelago in the Kingdom of Tonga. The island, discovered by the Dutch explorer Abel Tasman on 24 January 1643, was named Rotterdam after the Dutch port. The key also recalls the island's indigenous name (A), transcribed as 'Anamocka'. As in the case of 'Van Diemens' Rheede' (CdC 24), the map is an accurate reproduction of the drawing by Isaak Gilsemans, which Tasman included in his journal of his voyage to Tasmania and Oceania (see CdC 24). The original manuscript containing Gilsemans's drawings and papers is at the Nationaal Archief in The Hague (Aanwinsten Eerste Afdeling, nummer toegang 1.11.01.01, inventarisnummer 121).

This poorly preserved map shows Dutch ships at anchor off the coast of Nomuka, in a

place renamed 'Cornelis van der Lins' natural harbour' (A); the place where the island's inhabitants leave their boats (B); the bay where the Dutch restocked with water, called 'Justus Schuitens's bay' (C); the place, about one mile from the coast, where drinking water was to be found (D). The references to the possibility to stock up with drinking water are also particularly important in the notes preceding the image in Tasman's original diary. He describes how they were all 'delighted' to finally bring fresh water on board, after a difficult period at sea. The image is dominated by the drawing of the native sailing boat with a single bow that was used to bring coconuts and tubers to the Dutch (E).

[sc]

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Other copies
one-off.

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Selected bibliography
Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 133, no. 55;
Gosselink 2007, p. 149, no. 209;
Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 38
Lago de Maracaibo
Lake Maracaibo, Venezuela

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, before 1667

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
68.2 × 47.4 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany; inventory note: '14. Lac de Maracaibo
dans l'Amérique Meridionale'.

The map of Lake Maracaibo is a one-off piece by Vingboons. It offers an accurate illustration of one of the fundamental regions for Caribbean trading routes, focusing on the northern part of the Gulf of Venezuela (see CdC 35), from which the lake is separated by a barrier of sandy limestone islands clearly visible on the map. Discovered on 24 August 1499, during an expedition involving Amerigo Vespucci (1454–1512) and Alonso de Ojeda (1468–1515), the lake was home to buildings on stilts. The city of Maracaibo (a name that probably derives from the indigenous language), which can be seen on the map at the entrance to the strait

leading to the lake, was founded in 1529. In the late 17th century particularly, the zone attracted raids by Dutch, French, British and Spanish pirates and corsairs, but remained part of the Spanish colonial empire until 1811.

The map is probably based on drawings and descriptions by seafarers travelling the Caribbean route. It is more detailed around the mouth of the lake and the inhabited zones, where it provides a detailed illustration of the presence of sandbanks, which posed an obstacle to sailing and mooring ships.

[sc]

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Other copies
one-off.

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Selected bibliography
Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 131, no. 17;
Gosselink 2007, p. 143, no. 57.



Carte di Castello 39

*Cabo Corso, gelegen Aende Gout Cust,
in Guinea*

Cabo Corso, on the Gold Coast
in Guinea

Cape Coast, Ghana

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
58 × 47 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke
of Tuscany; inventory note: '56.Vue de cap [...]
Lieues [...]'.

—

Other copies

NA, 4.VELH619-38;
Van der Hem, 36:23.

—

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925-33, IV, p. 131, no. 28;
Van der Krogt 2005, p. 135;
Gosselink 2007, pp. 92-3, 147, no. 152;
Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.

The sub-Saharan regions and the Gulf of Guinea were known in the main Mediterranean cities as the 'Gold Coast' even before the Portuguese expansion on African shores. From the mid-15th century onwards, the Portuguese built the first fortified warehouses and prisons there on the island of Arguin (CdC 34 and 65), in São Tomé (CdC 17), São Jorge da Mina (CdC 25 and 57) and Cape Verde. These became some of the main centres in the Portuguese colonial economy based on the gold and slave trade. With the discovery of Brazil and the foundation of Spanish colonies in the Caribbean islands and in New Spain, the Gold Coast became one of the tips of a 'triangular' economy based on trading slaves, gold, sugar and weapons between Europe, the Portuguese and Spanish colonies on the other side of the Atlantic and, lastly, the African kingdoms of Atlantic central Africa – the Ashanti population in the case of Guinea – as well as with the Islamic merchants operating in the sub-Saharan regions. From the early 17th century, the Dutch also began to show an interest in the fortified outposts along the coasts of Guinea. Between around 1624 and 1650, following the foundation of the Dutch West India Company, they managed to conquer them from the Portuguese, albeit with differing degrees of success. From

1650, the Swedish, and from around 1660, the Danish, also began trading here, building new outposts and seizing possession of Portuguese ones. Around forty forts/prisons were built along Guinea's coastline. They were primarily used for the brutal amassment of slaves before sending them to the Americas, but also for storing gold to be sent to Europe. The depiction of the coast near Cabo Corso, the present-day Cape Coast in what is now Ghana, testifies to this little-known phase of European colonialism, linked to the Swedish and then the Danish expansion along Guinea's coastline. In 1650, the Swedish adventurer Hendrik Carlöf founded some settlements in present-day Ghana, the so-called 'Svenska Guldkusten' (Swedish Gold Coast). Fort Carolusburg was built in Cape Coast in 1653. The Danish conquered it in 1663 and sold it to the Dutch, before the Danish themselves took it back. The British then seized it in 1664, taking definitive possession of it. As well as showing the profile of the entire Swedish Gold Coast, shown from a bird's eye view, this map also indicates the main fortified warehouse (De Looge) and the mountain on which it stands, seen from the sea, with the Swedish flag of a white cross against a blue background raised upon it.

[AC]

Carte di Castello 40

Caert Van de baya de St. IAGO

gelegen int tlant CVBA

Map of the Bay of Santiago in Cuba

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
63.5 × 46.6 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany; inventory note: '76. Vue de la [...] dans l[...]']

This map of the bay and city of Santiago in Cuba bears great resemblance to CdC 35 and 36 (respectively the areas around Baya Hondo and Puerto Rico, on the same Caribbean route). It describes the entrance to the bay and focuses on the settlement of Santiago, with the cathedral and fort in the middle. Santiago, on the Cuban coast overlooking the island of Santo Domingo, was founded by the Spanish conquistador Diego Velázquez in summer 1515. Its strategic location made it an ideal base for expeditions to the Mexican coasts and Florida during the first few decades of the 16th century. The building indicated on the map as *'t Fort* can be identified as the castle of San Pedro de la Roca, designed in around 1600 by the Italian architect Juan

Battista Antonelli (1547–1616), at the behest of the Spanish governor Pedro de la Roca de Borja (who occupied this position from 1637 to 1640). Like the fortress built in Puerto Rico (see CdC 36), the fort formed part of a complex military architectural plan to protect the Caribbean islands from frequent pirate raids.

The map particularly highlights the possibility for ships to access the city of Santiago, passing through the entrance to the bay and reaching a safe, well-protected space. It should be noted how Vingboons also shows the presence of *suykermolens*, mills for producing cane sugar (see CdC 36).

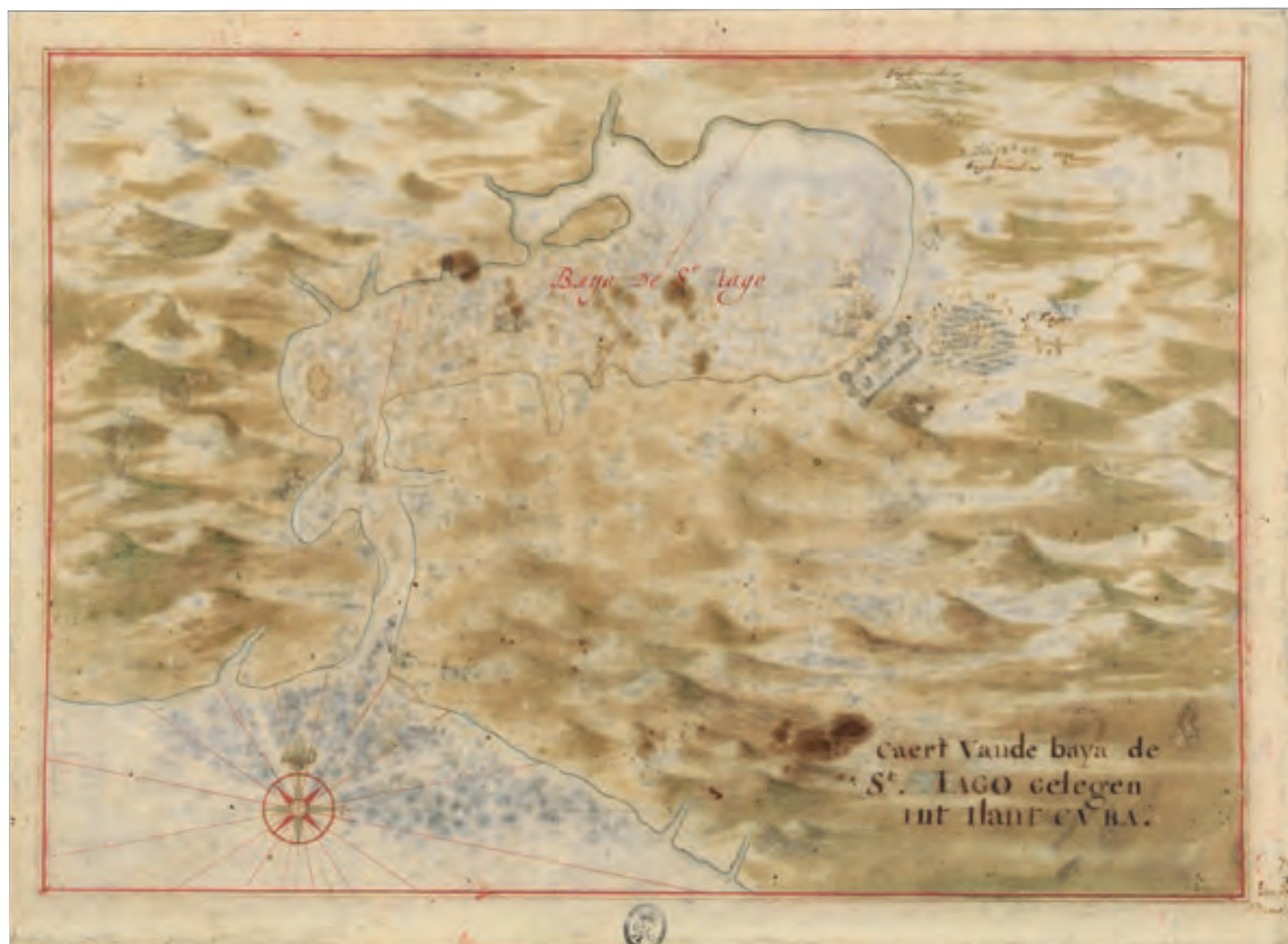
[sc]

Other copies

BAV, Reg. Lat. 2105-35, fol. 67r;
LOC G3291.S12 coll. H3, Vault: Harrissee
Collection, vol. 1, map 4;
NA, 4.VELH619-27;
NA, 4.VEL551.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 131, no. 7;
Gosselink 2007, p. 142, no. 41;
Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 41

*Puerto de la vera Cruz nueva con
la Fuerca de S. Ju de Ulua en el Reino
de la nueva España en el Mar del Norte*

Port of Veracruz with the fortress
of San Juan de Ulúa in New Spain
in the 'Mar del Norte'

Veracruz, Mexico

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, before 1667

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
60 × 47.2 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany; no inventory record (possibly lost).

—

Other copies

BAV, Reg. Lat. 2105-31, fol. 60r;

BNF, 20(2)-P183696;

Van der Hem, 44:11.

—

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925-33, IV, pp. 111, 130, no. 5;

Van der Krogt 2005, p. 513;

Gosselink 2007, p. 142, no. 38;

Gallica, s.v.

The perspective view and painterly image of the colonial city of Veracruz, in the Gulf of Mexico, observed from the hills that surround the city and fortified port, is accompanied by six brief explanatory keys written in Spanish and is much worn. During the pre-Colombian era, the fertile land home to the port city of Veracruz, one of the main ports in New Spain, in present-day Mexico, was called Totonacapan and was inhabited by the Totonac people. The latter were tributaries to the Aztec Empire, which exploited the thriving cultivation of corn, beans, squash and chillies. They welcomed the arrival of the Spanish in order to free themselves from the system of taxation imposed by Tenochtitlán. From Veracruz, with the Totonacs and the Tlaxcalans – another population subjugated by the Aztecs – as his allies, Hernán Cortés moved towards Tenochtitlán in the heart of Mexico.

Veracruz became the main port connecting New Spain with the colonies in the Caribbean (see CdC 9, 10, 14, 35, 38, 42, 48, 49, 50, 51) and the Iberian coast. The Spanish nobility, colonists and soldiers, missionaries (the first were the Franciscans, in 1524) and Caribbe-

an slaves arrived on its shores. Thanks to its direct links to Mexico City, Veracruz became the main port for exporting silver, cochineal, chocolate and chillies to Spain. The wealth that passed through Veracruz attracted the pirate fleets supported by the French and British, as well as the Dutch fleets of the Dutch East India Company following the Dutch Revolt against the Spanish between 1568 and 1648, when the independence of the Netherlands was recognized by the Peace of Westphalia. The construction of the fortress of San Juan de Ulúa aimed to combat this threat. Like the maps of Mexico City (CdC 43 and 52), this bird's eye view of Veracruz is based on a Spanish cartographic source. It is extremely worn and illegible in parts, but can be deciphered by comparing it to another copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Thanks to this comparison, we can make out the imposing fortress in the centre of the port city (A), the *Praça Mayor* and the main church (B), the *Casa del Cabildo* (city hall, C) and the road leading to Mexico City (F).

[AC]

Carte di Castello 42

*Caert van Porto St. Francisco Gelegen
aende Noort zij van ESPAÑOLA*

Map of the port of San Francisco
on the northern coast of Hispaniola

Haiti

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop (after Hessel Gerritsz, 1630)

Amsterdam, c. 1630–60

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
61.9 × 47 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany; inventory record: 'Carte p[...] en Nord
[...]'.

—

Other copies

BAV, Reg. Lat. 2105-37, fol. 71r;

NA, 4.VELH619-86;

NA, 4.VEL562.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 131, no. 9;

Gosselink 2007, p. 143, no. 45;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.

This map forms part of a series that illustrates the so-called 'island of Hispaniola' (Haiti and Dominican Republic) and Puerto Rico, highlighting various harbours and mooring points (see CdC 36, 49, 50). The series can be attributed to Johannes Vingboons and was produced between 1630 and 1660, based on maps made by the cartographer and engraver Hessel Gerritsz (1581–1632) in around 1630. Hessel Gerritsz was the first official cartographer to work for the Dutch East India Company and was employed by them from 16 October 1617 onwards, upon the recommendation of Pieter Plancius (1552–1622), a geographer, cartographer and one of the founders of the Dutch East India Company, as well as having ties to the West India Company. Hessel Gerritsz worked closely with merchants and explorers, reworking their experiences directly into his maps. This was mutually beneficial, because the merchants and seafarers used Hessel's maps during their voyages and expeditions.

This map shows the coast of Haiti, particularly the port of Santo Francisco, the old port

(marked 'vieulx port' on the map) and the port of Margon, as well as the Bourges and Camp de Louise camps. Spanish and Dutch ships can both be seen on the map, which contains information about depth readings and landing places, particularly for the area between the port of Santo Francisco and the 'old port'. Discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1492, Hispaniola soon became the general headquarters of Spanish colonial expansion, as well as one of the most important places for mining gold. Its strategic position as a base for conquering the American continent also attracted the interest of other colonial powers, of which France was one. Following the Peace of Ryswick (1697), which marked an end to the war between France and the 'Grand Alliance' (including Spain, the Dutch Republic and England), the island of Hispaniola was divided between France (the western part of Haiti) and Spain (the Dominican Republic, to the east).

[AC]



Carte di Castello 43

Planta y sitio dela Ciudad Mexico

Map and site of Mexico City

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop
(after Juan Gómez de Trasmonte, 1628)

Amsterdam, c. 1640–68

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
60.2 × 47.5 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany; inventory record: 'Plan [...]']

Other copies

BAV, Reg. Lat. 2105-30, fol. 60r;
BNF, 31 (2) format 4 - P188371;
NA, 4.VELH 619-78;
Van der Hem, 44:12.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, pp. 109–10, 130, no. 3;
Van der Krogt 2005, p. 509;
Gosselink 2007, pp. 59, 142, no. 36;
Connolly–Mayer 2009;
Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.

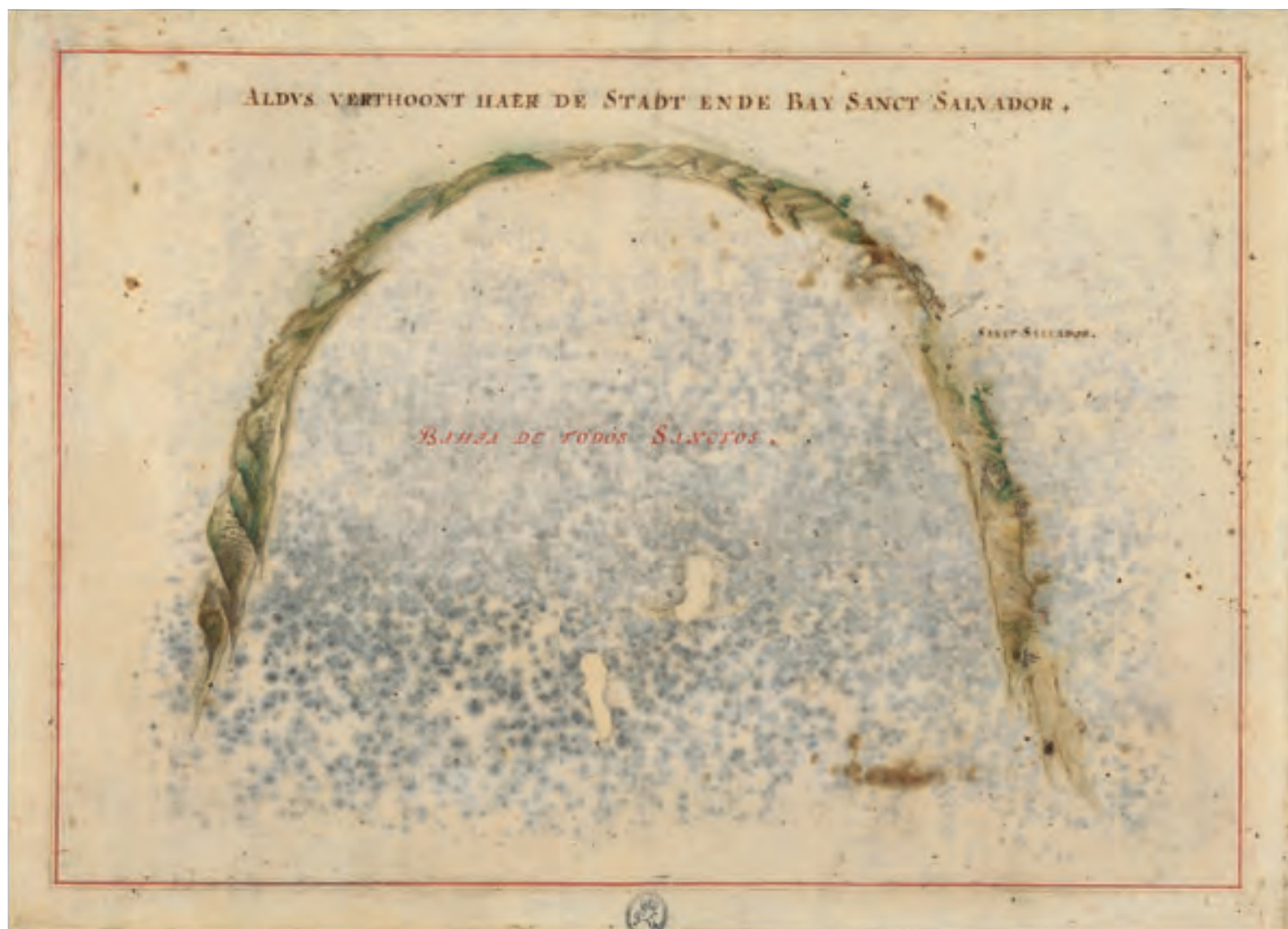
Present-day Mexico City was founded in 1325 by the Aztec México population on a plateau 2240 metres above sea level in the Valley of Mexico. The original nucleus was situated on a small island in the middle of the now extinct lake of Texcoco and formed part of a small city-state named Tlatelolco. The settlement was called Tenochtitlán and was the capital of the Aztec Empire from its foundation until 1521. At its height, it extended from the Pacific coast to the Gulf of Mexico.

Upon departing from Veracruz (CdC 41), the Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés (1487–1545) and his small band of troops, supported by the Totonac and Tlaxcalan peoples who had previously been ruled by the Aztecs, reached Tenochtitlán on 8 November 1519, imprisoning the Aztec king Montezuma II in his palace. In June 1520, the Aztecs managed to drive off Cortés and his men, but as the latter were able to count on the logistical and military support of the Tlaxcalans, they returned, besieged, reconquered and devastated Tenochtitlán in August 1521. Cortés built the city cathedral over the ruins of the main Aztec temple. The other temples were used as the foundations for numerous other churches and convents. Meanwhile, the Aztec palaces were transformed into homes for the Spanish. The Aztec capital was renamed 'Mexico City'. By exploiting the labour of the indigenous peoples, Tenochtitlán was transformed into a great colonial city, the capital of New Spain. However, the urban lay-

out of the new colonial city was influenced by that of the Aztec city and based on a reticular design that is clear to see in the highly detailed Carta di Castello. From 1524 onwards, Mexico City also became the main centre for the spread of Franciscan missions throughout the New World. The planimetric design, based on a survey and original map from 1628 by the architect, 'maestro mayor de la cathedral de México', Juan Gómez de Trasmonte (c. 1595–c. 1647; see CdC 52), is accompanied by twelve keys, often broken up into several points, which describe and point out the main religious and administrative buildings. A lengthy note above the title explains that the city was completely surrounded by a lagoon and that, in 1628 – the period to which the image refers – the city and its outskirts were home to more than 10,000 inhabitants. Nine thousand of these inhabitants were Indios and most of their homes were to be found in the flood zones (*anegadas*). Despite the hydraulic work carried out, Mexico City was subject to flooding that caused thousands of deaths and extensive damage. The map by Gómez de Trasmonte was taken to the Netherlands by the Dutch engineer Adriaen Boot and copied by Vingboons among others. In addition to this plan, the Castello collection also includes a pictorial bird's eye view of the city (see CdC 52), in which we can recognize the main administrative, religious and educational buildings.

[AC]





Carte di Castello 45

Caert van SPIRITV SANTO in Brasil

Map of Espírito Santo in Brazil

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed
paper, 64 × 46.8 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke
of Tuscany.

Situated between Salvador to the north and Rio de Janeiro to the south, the captaincy of Espírito Santo, with the eponymous city founded in 1535, was one of the oldest colonial settlements in Brazil. The inland area was covered by forests of ‘pau brasil’ (*Caesalpinia echinata*), whose rasped and ground bark was used to obtain a reddish resin for dyeing fabrics. Due to attacks by the indigenous populations, in 1551 the Portuguese built a new city, Nossa Senhora da Vitória – present-day Vitória, capital of the state of Espírito Santo – on the main island in the bay. From then on Espírito Santo also began to be known as Vila Velha (‘old city’).

In the 17th century, during the Dutch colonization of Brazil, the fleets of the Dutch West India Company made several attempts to conquer the Espírito Santo region, administratively linked to the captaincy of Salvador (see CdC 44).

The Carta di Castello, which is extremely schematic and relatively lacking in content, is based on Portuguese sources and not on first-hand surveys. It marks out the coastal profile of the bay and the main islands, where, somewhat anachronistically, only the city of Espírito Santo stands out.

[AC]

Other copies

BAV, Reg. Lat. 2106-57, fol. 69r;

NA, 4.VELH 619-99;

IAHGP, 11.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, pp. 115, 131, no. 22;

Gosselink 2007, p. 146, no. 126;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.;

Domingues 2016, s.v.



Carte di Castello 46

MALACCA Soo als dat van de Reede afgesien wordt

Malacca as seen from the mooring point

Malacca, Malaysia

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665–8

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
66.8 × 47.2 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke
of Tuscany; inventory record: '62. La vue du port
[...] tale du Royaume [...] dans l'Inde de la [...]'.
—

Other copies

Van der Hem, 39:15.
—

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, I, p. 18, IV, p. 133, no. 62;

Van der Krogt 2005, pp. 298–9;

Gosselink 2007, pp. 134, 150, no. 222;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.;

Domingues 2016, s.v.

In addition to this view, the port city of Malacca and the strait of the same name are depicted in three further Carte di Castello: a geometric plan (CdC 74) and two illustrations of the strait (CdC 63 and 72), all of Portuguese origin. The four maps reflect the strategic importance of the city and strait in the premodern era. It was founded in around 1374 by the warlord Parameswara (1344–1413) after he had been driven away from the kingdom of Singapura (present-day Singapore). He and his descendants equipped the city with warehouses for storing goods from the early 15th century onwards. Thanks to its deep and protected natural harbour, Malacca acquired a strategic role in shipping between the South China Sea and the western Indian Ocean during the era of the great Islamic voyages to China and the Ming voyages to the west, under the command of Admiral Zheng He (1371–1434). It went on to become a sultanate and also a protectorate of Ming China, meaning that its importance in the region grew enormously in the 15th century. A multiethnic Islamic city and a centre for the spread of Islam throughout South East Asia, it soon saw Malay become one of the lingua francas of the area, while Jawi script, alongside Chinese, became the main means of cultural, religious and intellectual exchange in this seafaring region.

In 1511, during the Portuguese maritime expansion across the Indian Ocean, the explor-

er Alfonso de Albuquerque (1453–1515) conquered Malacca, turning it into a prosperous Portuguese colony. The Dutch East India Company took over from the previous conquerors in 1641. This lively map by Johannes Vingboons features the coastal profile of Malacca, seen from the middle of the bay, during the period of Portuguese rule, and is illustrated with fine details and the help of a key. We can see the fortress built by Albuquerque (A), the church of São Paulo (B) and the monastery of Madre de Deus (C). However, in the centre of the image we can also see a naval battle between Dutch and Portuguese ships. The final part of the key reads: 'The ships in the natural harbour in front of the city represent an important naval battle, fought between the Dutch and the Portuguese. And the Portuguese had ... large ships 3 galleons and 11 *fuyten* ... the Dutch 9 common ships'. The illustration could refer to one of the first Dutch attempts to conquer the city, which took place in 1606, when the East India Company's fleet, captained by Admiral Cornelis Matelief de Jonge (1569–1632), was defeated by the Portuguese fleet of Viceroy Martim Afonso de Castro, who died the following year of wounds sustained in the battle. Three Dutch ships in flames on the left side of the image seem to support this interpretation.

[AC]



Carte di Castello 47

*Aldus verthoont de TAFEL BAY
geleegen Aende CABO DE BONA
SPERANCA*

Table Bay at the Cape of Good Hope
Cape Town, South Africa

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1655

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
58.3 × 47 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand
Duke of Tuscany; inventory record: 'Monta[...]
avec [...]'.

—

Other copies
NA, 4.VELH619-36.

—

Selected bibliography
Wieder 1925-33, I, p. 14, IV, p. 131, no. 34;
Gosselink 2007, pp. 19, 148, no. 165;
Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.

The extraordinary marine view of Table Bay, north-west of the Cape of Good Hope, observed from an elevated position out at sea, a few miles offshore, creates the pictorial illusion of an aerial image within which the beauty and airiness of the elements unfurl. The sea, the breeze highlighted by the crests of the waves, the ships driven by the wind and the mountains of the Cape that stand out against the clear blue sky, give the viewer a feel for the sensory experience of sailing. At the same time, Vingboons's miniaturistic style accurately defines the profile of the mountains and the location of the fort, which are important details for those approaching the bay by sea.

Although Cape Town did not have a particularly sheltered natural harbour, the nearby Cape of Good Hope offered an intermediate landing place that was fundamental for Dutch ships crossing the Atlantic and Indian Oceans on their way to Asia or the Netherlands. This is why Johan Antoniszoon van Riebeeck (1619-77), who had been an officer in the Dutch East India Company since 1639, was tasked with founding a fortified landing place in 1652. Van

Riebeeck built a properly equipped port, a fort and a number of farms for growing vegetables and supplying fresh food over a ten-year period. He made contact with the African Khoekhoe population – given the derogatory name of 'Hottentots' by the Dutch, an onomatopoeic term that recalls stutterers due to the phonetics of their language (see CdC 79-82) – and began trading goods produced or imported by the Dutch, particularly bread, pipes, metal objects and alcoholic drinks (CdC 80) for the livestock raised by the Khoekhoe. The colonial city's efficient organization and its agricultural production system, as well as the presence of a hospital, made it an almost compulsory stopping point for many ships – Dutch or otherwise – circumnavigating Africa. The strategic importance of Table Bay and Cape Town is illustrated by dozens of cartographic documents – primarily to be found in Dutch archives and libraries – showing the fort, the warehouses and the territory. Cape Town remained a Dutch colony until 1795, when it was conquered by the British.

[AC]



Carte di Castello 48

Caert vande Bay en 't Casteel EL
MORO NEGERO gelegen op 't Eyland
MARGARITA

Map of 'El Moro Negero' (El Morro)
Bay and Castle on Margarita Island
Margarita Island, Venezuela

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, before 1667

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
65 × 47 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany; inventory record: '[...] Ba[...]'].

This map shows a bay, probably El Morro, on the Caribbean island of Margarita. Situated opposite the coast of Venezuela, the name recalls the island's most precious commodity, pearls, present in huge quantities along the coast and a source of great wealth for the Spanish crown. Discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1498, it became the centre of the Provincia or Gobernación de Margarita created by Emperor Charles V in 1525.

Nevertheless, the map does not include any reference to pearls, the product so dear to the Spanish Empire, but instead to a product fundamental to the economy of the Netherlands: salt, used for preserving herrings after fishing.

Indeed, the key beneath the title describes the inland as 'the plain where salt is produced'. The presence of salt pans was probably the main reason for the inclusion of this map in Vingboons' production and on the Dutch trading routes. The rest of the key focuses on the fort indicated as 'El Moro Negero' (1, 4, 5 and 6), where ships can moor nearby (2), on a small bay to the east of the fort (3) and on a house overlooking it (7). As in the case of Santiago de Cuba (see CdC 40), the construction of the fort should be interpreted as the result of the need to defend the 'pearl' from continuous attacks by Scottish and French pirates.

[sc]

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Other copies

BAV, Reg. Lat. 2105-33, fol. 64r.

—
Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925-33, IV, p. 131, no. 15;

Gosselink 2007, pp. 143-4, no. 54;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 49

*Afteijckening vande Bay aen Cabo de
Tiburon op 't Westeynt van Spangnola*
Depiction of the bay near Cape Tiburon
on the west coast of Hispaniola
Haiti

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop, after Hessel Gerritsz, 1630

Amsterdam, c. 1630–70

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
62.5 × 46.9 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany.

This map by Vingboons and his workshop is a reworking after the cartographer Hessel Gerritsz (1581–1632) and shows the westernmost side of Hispaniola (see CdC 36, 42, 50), now part of the state of Haiti. As indicated in the title, the cartographic information focuses on Cape Tiburon, where we can see depth readings and circumnavigation details. The map mostly seems to be based on nautical information collected by seafarers, as in the case of most maps in the Castello collection after models by Hessel Gerritsz. Examples of these surveys of the island of Hispaniola can be seen in the Nationaal Archief in The Hague (e.g. NA, 4.VEL558A, NA, 4.VEL558B e NA,

4.VEL558C). These drawings primarily depict the island's coasts and are accompanied by information on depths and the presence of rocks near the shore. It is interesting to note the absence of information regarding the presence of villages, towns or warehouses and trading organizations, which suggests a relative lack of stable colonization during this period of history on this side of the island, which was assigned to France in 1697.

Hispaniola was particularly rich in products that played a fundamental role in premodern European trading, particularly coffee and sugar cane, grown by slaves deported from Africa. [sc]

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Other copies

BAV, Reg. Lat. 2105-36, fol. 69r;

NA, 4.VELH619-39;

NA, 4.VEL563.

—
Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 131, no. 8;

Gosselink 2007, p. 143, no. 44;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 50
*Caert van I[sla]. VACA ende BAI
gelegen aen SPANGNOLA*
Map of Île-à-Vache and the bay
near Hispaniola
Île-à-Vache, Haiti

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
63.2 × 47 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke
of Tuscany; inventory record: '68. Ile de la Vache
avec une autre partie de l'île de S. Domingue vers
le couchant'.

Part of the series dedicated to the island of Hispaniola (see CdC 36, 42, 49), this map shows the small Île-à-Vache in the Caribbean Sea to the south-west of Haiti and the southern part of the coast of Haiti. This area of Haiti is currently occupied by the city of Les Cayes, which is still one of the main ports for exporting coffee and sugar cane.

The map contains elements that reveal the island's role in the Dutch trading network. It provides information about the depth of the waters near the coast (indicated by dotted lines in a darker colour and by numerical indications) and shows the points where it is possible to moor (*De Ree*). The other places identi-

fied on the map include the point near a river where one can find drinking water (*Riuier daer men water haelt*, literally 'river from which one takes water'); the place where ships can stop to be cleaned or repaired (*Haven om te ciel-halten*, literally 'port for raising the keel'); and the presence of potentially hazardous islets that are difficult to spot (*salinas oft verdroncken Eylantiens*, literally 'submerged islands'). This is all extremely practical information, based on the experience of seafarers and merchants, which can be used to help organize and plan a voyage and has wisely been included in the Dutch West India Company map.

[sc]

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Other copies

BAV, Reg. Lat. 2105-38, fol. 73r;

NA, 4.VELH619-103;

NA, 4.VEL560.

—
Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925-33, IV, p. 131, no. 10;

Gosselink 2007, p. 143, no. 46;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 51

Porto Rico van Binnen aen te sien

View of Puerto Rico

Island of San Juan, Puerto Rico

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
62.6 × 46.9 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany; inventory record: '77. [...] du mer [...] trionale'.

As in the case of CdC 36, here we can see the small island of San Juan, to the north of the island of Puerto Rico. In this bird's eye view, Vingboons highlights the main buildings (see key CdC 36), the easiest point for ships to moor (in the zone known today as the Puntilla), the fort on the western coast (Castillo San Felipe del Morro) and the cathedral in the centre of the settlement. Particular attention to detail is also shown in the depiction of the Fortaleza, home to the governor from 1544 onwards and also known as the 'Palacio de Santa Catalina'. It is now a UNESCO World Heritage Site and a fine example of military architecture from the premodern period, in which European designs and construction techniques were adapted to

the specific requirements of Caribbean port cities. Both the fort of San Felipe del Morro and the Fortaleza were built to defend the port and the bay of San Juan, a strategic point in Spanish colonial policy, as part of a defensive project that spanned almost three centuries.

Although the Dutch West India Company never managed to establish itself in San Juan, with the exception of the small fort of San Juan de la Cruz (*El Canuelo*) on the Isla de Cabras for a very short period in 1625, it's important to note its significant interest in the region, as illustrated by Vingboons's conspicuous cartographic production, with at least six maps dedicated to Puerto Rico.

[sc]

Other copies

BAV, Reg. Lat. 2105-40, fol. 80r;

BNF, ge C.1446(2);

NA, 4.VELH619-117;

Van der Hem, 44:19.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925-33, IV, p. 131, no. 13;

Van der Krogt 2005, p. 517;

Gosselink 2007, p. 143, no. 51;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 52

Forma y levantado de la Ciudad de Mexico

View of Mexico City

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, after Juan Gómez de Trasmonte, 1628.

Amsterdam, c. 1640–68

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper, 60.1 × 47.2 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany; inventory record: '[...] autre [...] ville'.

Together with the highly detailed plan of Mexico City (CdC 43), this bird's eye view of the capital of New Spain was also copied by Vingboons after an original drawn up by Juan Gómez de Trasmonte (c. 1595–c. 1647) in 1628, whose authorship is acknowledged in a key on the left edge of the map. 'Maestro mayor de la catedral de México', that is to say chief architect of the cathedral, Juan Gómez de Trasmonte also carried out hydraulic works to combat the flooding and swamping of the neighbourhoods overlooking the lagoon, inhabited primarily by Indios. The two maps attributed to him highlight the city's division into neighbourhoods and its principal public buildings and were probably used to plan these works. In the case of the bird's eye view, with

the upper parts of the main buildings, the city's urban layout is explained by a twofold system of keys. The first system, marked by letters, lists the main buildings. Particular emphasis is placed on the viceroy's palace (A), the cathedral (B), the *Casa del Cabildo*, namely the city hall (C), the *Casa Arpl* (D), the university (F) and the *Alameda*, a park in the city centre (G). A second collection of numbered keys, beneath the title, instead illustrates the convents – of the Franciscans (1), Augustinians (2), Dominicans (3) and Jesuits (4) – the seminary, the Jesuit church, the hospitals, the parish churches, the colleges, and the numerous other churches, in all neighbourhoods.

[AC]

Other copies

BAV, Reg. Lat. 2105-29, fol. 57r;

BNF, 20 (3)-P183736;

Van der Hem, 44:13.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, pp. 109–10, 130, no. 4;

Van der Krogt 2005, p. 510;

Gosselink 2007, p. 142, no. 37;

Connolly–Mayer 2009;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.;

Gallica, s.v.

Por la Correspondencia de los números de latín en esta Copia los Conventos y cosas señaladas.

R.1. Convento de S. Francisco. R.2. Convento de S. Agustín. R.3. Convento de S. Domingo. R.4. Palacio de S. Felipe. R.5. Alameda. R.6. Alameda. R.7. Alameda. R.8. Alameda. R.9. Alameda. R.10. Alameda. R.11. Alameda. R.12. Alameda. R.13. Alameda. R.14. Alameda. R.15. Alameda. R.16. Alameda. R.17. Alameda. R.18. Alameda. R.19. Alameda. R.20. Alameda. R.21. Alameda. R.22. Alameda. R.23. Alameda. R.24. Alameda. R.25. Alameda. R.26. Alameda. R.27. Alameda. R.28. Alameda. R.29. Alameda. R.30. Alameda. R.31. Alameda. R.32. Alameda. R.33. Alameda. R.34. Alameda. R.35. Alameda. R.36. Alameda. R.37. Alameda. R.38. Alameda. R.39. Alameda. R.40. Alameda. R.41. Alameda. R.42. Alameda. R.43. Alameda. R.44. Alameda. R.45. Alameda. R.46. Alameda. R.47. Alameda. R.48. Alameda. R.49. Alameda. R.50. Alameda. R.51. Alameda. R.52. Alameda. R.53. Alameda. R.54. Alameda. R.55. Alameda. R.56. Alameda. R.57. Alameda. R.58. Alameda. R.59. Alameda. R.60. Alameda. R.61. Alameda. R.62. Alameda. R.63. Alameda. R.64. Alameda. R.65. Alameda. R.66. Alameda. R.67. Alameda. R.68. Alameda. R.69. Alameda. R.70. Alameda. R.71. Alameda. R.72. Alameda. R.73. Alameda. R.74. Alameda. R.75. Alameda. R.76. Alameda. R.77. Alameda. R.78. Alameda. R.79. Alameda. R.80. Alameda. R.81. Alameda. R.82. Alameda. R.83. Alameda. R.84. Alameda. R.85. Alameda. R.86. Alameda. R.87. Alameda. R.88. Alameda. R.89. Alameda. R.90. Alameda. R.91. Alameda. R.92. Alameda. R.93. Alameda. R.94. Alameda. R.95. Alameda. R.96. Alameda. R.97. Alameda. R.98. Alameda. R.99. Alameda. R.100. Alameda.



Carte di Castello 53
*Caert van Poorte de San VINCENTE
in Brasyl*
Map of the harbour of São Vicente
in Brazil

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, before 1667

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
64.1 × 47 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand
Duke of Tuscany; inventory record: '16. Carte
de S. Vin[...] dans le Bresil'.

The bay and island of São Vicente, off the Brazilian coast opposite São Paulo, around 430 kilometres to the south of the bay of Rio de Janeiro, was discovered by the fleet led by Gaspar de Lemos on 22 January 1502 during the first official expedition to explore the Brazilian coastline. Inhabited by the Tupiniquim people, the island of São Vicente was one of the first permanent Portuguese settlements in Brazil. The colonists began planting sugar cane, employing slaves to grow it in keeping with the model established on the African island of São Tomé (CdC 17). An urban centre developed here and livestock was imported here for the first time in 1534, brought in from Cape Verde.

The Iguape War was fought in the inland regions and the bay between 1534 and 1536. This was one of the first clashes between the Spanish and Portuguese and breached the Treaties of Tordesillas (1494) and Zaragoza (1529). The two sides were fighting over the occupation of the blurred borderlands between the two hemispheres of Iberian influence. The Spanish, supported by the native Carijó popu-

lation, destroyed São Vicente. The Portuguese, allied with Tupi people, then drove the Spanish off, causing them to seek refuge to the south, in Buenos Aires.

After the city was rebuilt, the Jesuits began using São Vicente as their base for missions in Brazil, guided by the Spanish missionary José de Anchieta (1534–97), who learned the Tupi language and wrote a short grammar on it, printed in Lisbon in 1595. After departing São Vicente with a number of other brothers, Anchieta was involved in the foundation of the city of São Paulo in 1554.

As in the case of the maps of the bays of Rio de Janeiro (CdC 32), Salvador (CdC 44) and Espírito Santo (CdC 45), the map of São Vicente is also based on Portuguese sources and sets out highly schematic contents, certainly not based on first-hand experience, although sufficient to outline the shape and key points of the bay (the settlement, the fort, the navigable straits) for potential military action.

[AC]

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Other copies

BAV, Reg. Lat. 2106-61, fol. 73r;
IAHGP, 13.

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Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, pp. 115, 131, no. 24;
Gosselink 2007, p. 146, no. 128;
Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 54

BATTACALO op 't EYLANT CEILON

Batticaloa on the island of Ceylon

Batticaloa, Sri Lanka

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
57.5 × 46 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand
Duke of Tuscany; inventory record: 'Vue du [...] de Cey'.

Together with CdC 29 and 30, the map of Batticaloa features one of the Dutch East India Company's main trading centres: the island of Ceylon, now known as Sri Lanka. This extremely simply image shows the city on the island's east coast from a great distance. The only recognizable construction is the fort, on an islet off the coast. It was built by the Portuguese in 1628 and stands in a strategic position, protected by four bastions and a ditch. It was occupied by the Dutch in 1638, destroyed in 1639 and then rebuilt in 1665 and can be considered the symbol of the Dutch East India Company's conquest of Sri Lanka, an island that was particularly important for its cinnamon produc-

tion and trade. Indeed, Batticaloa was the first city to pass into Dutch hands at the expense of the Portuguese. It marked the start of a systematic process of conquest and control of trading centres, including Galle (CdC 29; conquered in 1640) and Colombo (CdC 30; conquered in 1656). The two ships in the foreground with the flag of the Dutch Republic are an unmistakable allusion to Dutch power.

As well as costly cinnamon (the fort was built specifically to prevent smuggling), Batticaloa was also a trading post for rice, honey, cotton and textiles.

[sc]

Other copies

NA 4.VELH619-24.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925-33, IV, p. 132, no. 44;

Gosselink 2007, pp. 107, 149, no. 187;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 55

De Stadt Dabul

The city of Dabhol

Dabhol, India

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper, 61.1 × 40.5 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany; inventory record: '45. La ville de Dabul dans la Presque'.

The view of the city of Dabhol succeeds in highlighting its intrinsic multicultural nature. The pagoda (also indicated in the key) and the mosques exist alongside the castle that has now fallen out of use (*veruallen Casteel*) and the home of the governor (*Gouverneurs Huys*). The Dutch ships mingle with *prauwen*, typical vessels used by the local populations (shown here in two groups of five). There is also a *timmerwerf*, a zone dedicated to repairing ships. It's also interesting to note that, while the keys are lacking from the copy at the Nationaal Archief (NA) in The Hague, they are present and copied by the same hand in a preparatory pen and ink drawing produced by Vingboons between 1640 and 1688 and now in Paris at the Bibliothèque Nationale (25 [5]-P186433).

Standing on the north bank of the River Vashishti, in the Indian region of Konkan, the city of Dabhol was an important port in the premodern period, featuring on the Islamic trading routes that linked Mediterranean ports with the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. Dabhol was the site of a massacre ordered by the Portuguese Viceroy of India Francisco de Almeida (c. 1450–1501) in December 1508, in revenge for an attack on the Portuguese fleet heading for Diu. The Battle of Diu (3 February 1509), won by the Portuguese against an alliance formed by the Sultanate of Gujarat and the Mamlûk Burji Sultanate of Egypt with the backing of Venice, gave the Portuguese control over trading routes in the Indian Ocean (see CdC 66).

[sc]

Other copies

BNF, 25 (5)-P186433;

NA, 4.VELH619-50.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 132, no. 42;

Gosselink 2007, p. 148, no. 180;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 56

*Afteeckeninge vant Fort ende Reede
CANANOR gelegen op ii Graden
benoorden den Equator*

View of the Fort and mooring
of Cananor located 2 degrees north
of the Equator

Kannur, India

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
61.4 × 41.2 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand
Duke of Tuscany; inventory record:
'44. Vue du fort et de la ville [...]'.

The map of Kannur, on the coast of Malabar in the south-western part of India, features a fortified city dominated by the presence of St Angelo Fort. The fort was built by the Portuguese in 1505 and conquered by the Dutchman Rijcklof van Goens (1619–82) in 1663, allowing the Dutch East India Company to establish itself in the city and turn it into a centre for trading pepper – the area is also described as the 'pepper coast' – and cardamon, a spice primarily used for making desserts. The natural harbour provided easy access to the port city and made it an excellent place to stop and restock with provisions. The ships shown in the harbour are described as *fregatten*. It's impor-

tant to remember that Kannur was conquered in 1663 despite the official end to hostilities between the Dutch Republic and Portugal, with the Treaty of The Hague being signed on 6 August 1661. The city remained in the hands of the Dutch until 1790. As well as its wealth of exotic products, Kannur also offered another important possibility. From its port and fort, the Dutch could control Sri Lanka, a strategic region that they had fought hard to seize from the Portuguese (see CdC 29, 30 and 54). As in the case of Dabhol (CdC 55), Kannur was connected directly to the trade routes with the Red Sea and Arabian Peninsula (CdC 71).

[sc]

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Other copies
NA 4.VELH61941.

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Selected bibliography
Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 132, no. 46;
Gosselink 2007, pp. 111, 149, no. 191;
Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 57

Aldus Verthoont 't Casteel de Mina

Vanden Berch St. Iago

View of Elmina Castle from St Iago Hill

Elmina, Ghana

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
58.4 × 46 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand
Duke of Tuscany; inventory record: 'Vue [...] in [...] Sain[...]'.

This pictorial view of the fort of São Jorge da Mina and the adjacent village is taken, as explained by the title, from Fort Coenraadsburg (also known as the fort of São Tiago da Mina). The structure began life as an old fortified chapel built by the Portuguese. The Dutch West India Company then built a fort over the ruins in 1652 to provide the settlement with further protection. After defeating the Portuguese in 1637, the Dutch went on to dominate the 'Costa de ouro' for around two decades, conquering São Tomé in 1641 and then Luanda (see CdC 17). These conquests marked the height of the West India Company's expansion on both sides of the Atlantic, from Recife, the port of Pernambuco in Brazil, to the African coasts. The period of Dutch domination lasted until 1648, when the Portuguese took back both São Tomé and Luanda, while São Jorge

remained in their hands until 1872, the year it was sold to the British.

As the price of gold fell progressively due to extensive gold mining in Mexico, thereby reducing the importance of the gold trade in Elmina, the Dutch expanded the slave trade, transporting them to their strongholds in South America, particularly Recife and the colonial settlements in north-east Brazil. The fort with its impressive bastions and towers overlooks the colonial village, which is made up of modest houses of very similar appearance. We can see some very rudimentary canoes on the shores of the lagoon. Along with the houses in the village, they show a marked contrast with the powerful structure of the fort, symbolizing the huge inequality that characterized the colonial world.

[AC]

Other copies

BAV, Reg. Lat. 2107-20, fol. 41r;

BL, Add. MS 33976, L;

Van der Hem, 36:18.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925-33, IV, pp. 116, 131, no. 31;

Van der Krogt 2005, p. 329;

Gosselink 2007, pp. 147-8, no. 158;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.;

Domingues 2016, s.v.



Carte di Castello 58
*De Stadt SOVRATTE gelegen op
Noorden breete van 21 Graden*
The city of Surat at 21 degrees north
latitude
Surat, India

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1665

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
60.6 × 40.7 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand
Duke of Tuscany; inventory record: '6[.] Vue
de [...] ville [...]'.

Painted in the same style as CdC 56, the map of Surat shows the most important port city in northern India, a trading centre for textiles and spices. The Dutch East India Company opened a *kontoor* there in 1616 and the first director (probably resident in the *gouverneurshuys*) moved there in 1620. It was part of the Moghul Empire from 1573, acting as its financial capital until the 18th century and attracting the attention of Turkish, British and French merchants, as well as the Dutch, who built their headquarters there.

The lodge and warehouse belonging to the merchants of the East India Company is near the home of the *gouverneur* and has direct access to the sea. This impressive building pro-

vides a clear illustration of the important role the company attributed to itself, together with its desire to show off its wealth and power, which enabled it to obtain important trading privileges from the Gran Moghul along the empire's coastline. Starting out from Surat, they went on to found other commercial warehouses, even influencing the trade routes towards the Red Sea. The fortified castle (*Casteel van Souratte*), built in the 16th century to protect the city against enemy attacks, stands out in the centre of the map. The Portuguese attacked Surat in 1512 and 1531, but failed in their attempt to conquer it.

[sc]

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Other copies
BNF, 25 (11)-P186983.

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Selected bibliography
Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 132, no. 41;
Gosselink 2007, pp. 148–9, no. 178;
Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 59

*Baye ende Fortres van Nieuw Vlissingen
op 't Eylant TABAGO*

Bay and fortress of Nieuw Vlissingen
on the island of Tobago

Great Courland Bay, Tobago

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop, after Hessel Gerritsz, 1628–9

Amsterdam, c. 1650

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
61.7 × 46.5 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany; inventory record: 'La Ba[...] Flessi[...] de
Tab[...] Antilles[...] le Midi'.

As the title describes, this map shows the bay on the island of Tobago (Great Courland Bay) that is home to the fort of Nieuw Vlissingen. Built by the first Dutch colonists in 1628, the fort was subsequently rebuilt in 1654 and renamed Jacobus. The explicit reference to the name 'Nieuw Vlissingen' makes it possible to establish that the depiction refers to the first phase of Dutch colonization, when the building was relatively small, but already equipped with cannons pointing out to sea and towards the inland areas where the tobacco plantations were to be found. As in the case of CdC 42, 49, and 64, the map is based on a drawing by Hessel Gerritsz (c. 1581–1632), the first official cartographer of the Dutch India Companies, between 1628 and 1629.

The name 'Nieuw Vlissingen' reminds us of the provenance of the first Dutch colonists, who departed from the city of Vlissingen (in the region of Zeeland) to colonize Tobago (which they called New Walcheren). The Dutch settled here during the first phase of colonization in the city currently known as Charlotteville (situated on Jan de Moor Bay, named after the burgomaster of Vlissingen) and built a second fort at Black Rock in Nieuw Vlissingen too. The Dutch colonists also constructed military buildings to protect the island during the second and third phases of colonization in 1654 and 1676. However, their efforts were all in vain, because it was conquered by the French in 1677.

[sc]

Other copies

BAV, Reg. Lat. 2105-44, fol. 82r;

NA, 4.VELH619-100;

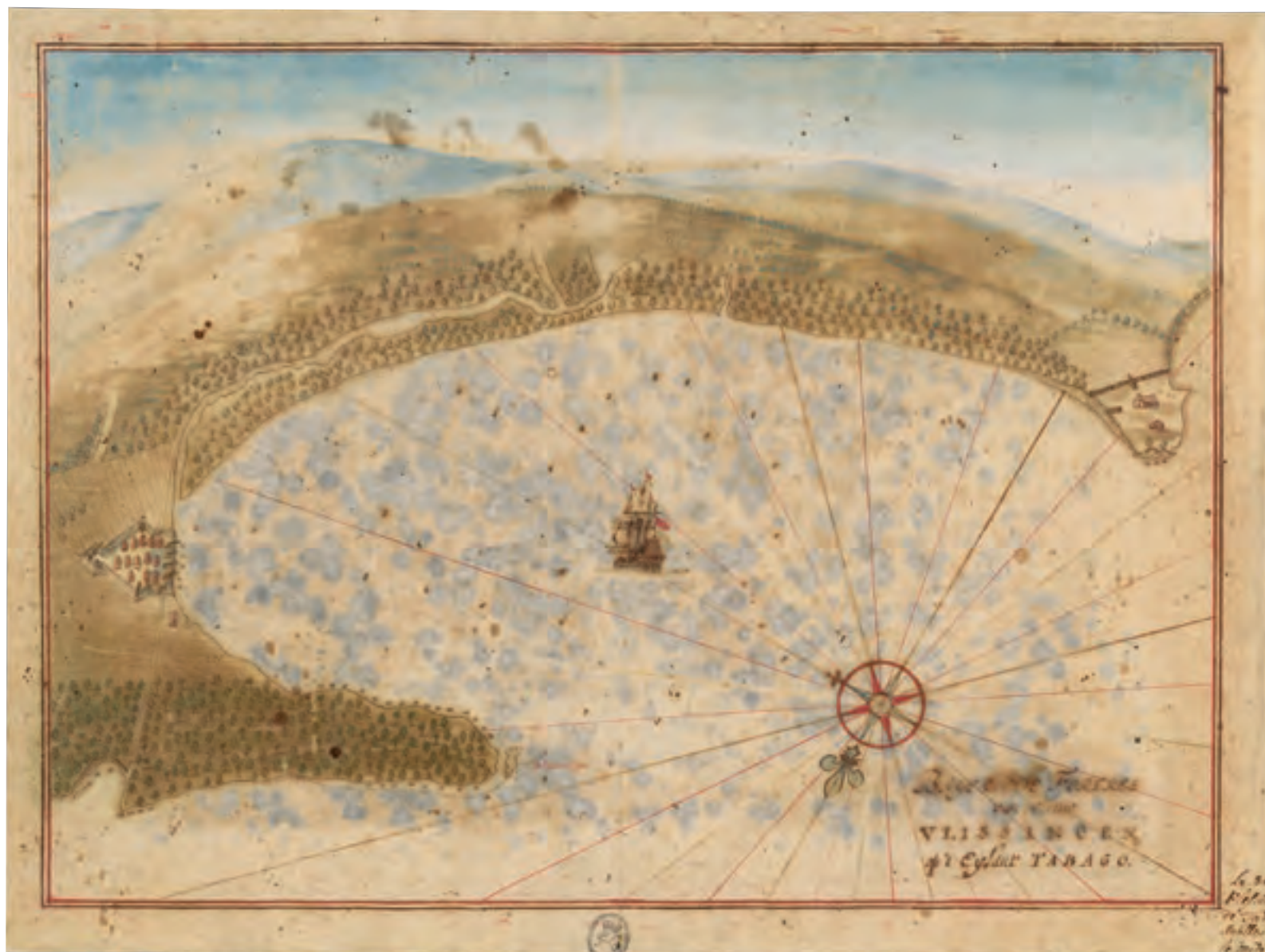
NA, 4.VEL576.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 131, no. 14;

Gosselink 2007, pp. 64, 143, no. 52;

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 60
*Afteeckeninge vande stadt
ende Casteel van Brotchia*
View of the city and the castle
of Brotchia
Bharuch, India

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1640–68

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
50.2 × 40.5 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany; inventory record: '66. Vue [...] ville
de Bro[...] dans [...] llogol à 12 li[...] de Surate'.

The series of Indian cities in the Castello collection (CdC 55, 56, 58 and 59) is completed by the depiction of the city and castle of Bharuch, in north-west India, on the Narmada estuary, a short distance from Surat, one of the main trading centres in the Moghul Empire (1526–18th century). It vaunted a particularly favourable geographical location and offered the possibility for trading along the routes that crossed the western Indian Ocean, the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf. Bharuch was particularly important for processing cotton, which it traded in the form of fabrics renowned for their elegance and lightness. The Dutch East India Company decided to get directly involved

in the production of this costly fabric and set up a weaving workshop here. As in the case of Surat (see CdC 58), the map shows the home of the governor (*Gouverneurs Huys*) and the commercial lodge and warehouse (the building near the governor's house). The area where ships can be repaired (*timmerwerf*) is shown along the coast. However, the view of the city is dominated by the roofs of the three mosques, indicated with the term *meskijt* in the key. The fortified zone where these buildings are to be found is flanked by the actual settlement indicated by the word *voorstad*.

[sc]

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Other copies
BNF, 25 (3)-P186346.

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Selected bibliography
Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 132, no. 40;
Gosselink 2007, pp. 110, 148, no. 176;
Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.

Carte di Castello 61
[Borneo, Celebes, Java]
South East Asia

Lisbon, c. 1669

Pen and ink drawing on canvas-backed paper,
42.2 × 56.3 cm

No ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany; no inventory record; copy after the *Livro das plantas das fortalezas cidades e povoacois do Estado da Índia Oriental*, c. 1650, Biblioteca do Paco Ducal de Vila Vicosa, Portugal, Res 21.

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Other copies
BPD, Res 21, 23.

–
Selected bibliography
PMC 1960, V, pp. 73–8;
Martins Ferreira 2009, pp. 93–6;
Gruzinski 2015;
Domingues 2016, s.v.

The sixteen Carte di Castello 61–3 and 66–78 form a uniform cartographic group of Portuguese origin, made up of fourteen nautical charts and two city plans from the Estado Português da Índia (Portuguese India), which Cosimo III had copied or acquired in Lisbon during his second European journey between 1668 and 1669. As already deduced by Armando Cortesão and Avelino Teixeira da Mota, curators of the *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, the direct source for the sixteen maps can be traced to a Portuguese codex illustrated with 104 maps and entitled *Livro das plantas das fortalezas cidades e povoacois do Estado da Índia Oriental*, currently at the Biblioteca do Paco Ducal de Vila Vicosa (shelfmark Res 21), in Portugal. Starting from the first decades of the 17th century, at the time of the Iberian Union, a huge collection of administrative, textual and visual descriptions of immense maritime and coastal expanses in the Portuguese maritime empire were produced. Some were drawn up by individuals – as in the case of the Malay-Portuguese cartographer Manuel Godinho de Erédia (1563–1623) – while others were the result of state initiatives, as in the famous case of the *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoaçoens do Estado da India Oriental*, written by António Bocarro (1594–1642?) and Pedro Barreto de Resende (?–1651), now in the Biblioteca Pública

de Évora, in Portugal. In the case of the latter document, in 1632 Miguel de Noronha, Count of Linares and Viceroy of India, commissioned António Bocarro to write a detailed textual description of the territories and numerous coastal cities of Portuguese India, intended for King Philip III of Portugal. Meanwhile, Pedro Barreto de Resende, secretary to the Viceroy of India, was tasked with illustrating the codex with images of the fortresses, city plans, ships and Asian plants. Copied and adapted several times, with additions and variations, it is currently available in a number of libraries worldwide – a digitalized copy is publically available on the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal website <<http://purl.pt/27184>> – and was also used as the model for the codex at Vila Viçosa, on which the maps in Cosimo III's possession were based.

The Carta di Castello 61, centred on the equator, outlines the coastal profiles of Borneo, Java, Celebes (now Sulawesi) and the Philippines. From the early 17th century onwards, this vast maritime area witnessed clashes between the Dutch East India Company, the British East India Company and the older Portuguese and Spanish colonists, sometimes allied with and sometimes fighting against the local kingdoms. They all wanted the same thing: control over the spice market.

[AC]



Carte di Castello 62

Descrição da Fortaleza e Porto de Sofala

Description of the Fortress and Port of Sofala

Mozambique Channel

Lisbon, c. 1669

Pen and ink drawing on canvas-backed paper,
42.2 × 56.3 cm

No ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany; no inventory record; number in the bottom right corner: 9; copy after the *Livro das plantas das fortalezas cidades e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental*, c. 1650, Biblioteca do Paco Ducal de Vila Vicosa, Portugal, Res 21.

Map 62, with the description of the fort and port of Sofala, forms a uniform group with CdC 67 featuring the coastal zone near the Cape of Good Hope and CdC 68 and 69 with the African coasts north of Sofala. Together they outline one of the nerve centres of Portuguese India, the Mozambique Channel as it enters the Indian Ocean, north of the Cape of Good Hope.

When the Portuguese – now capable of rounding the Cape of Good Hope – first arrived here, the territory of Sofala formed part of the empire of the Mwene Matapa, which occupied the area south of the southern Zambesi River, between the plateau of Zimbabwe and the Indian Ocean, from the 15th to the 18th century. Sofala traded with the main Muslim

marketplaces of Hormuz and Aden, as well as those around the Red Sea and Gujarat in India. Gold from African mines in the Mwene Matapa territory was traded through Sofala for textiles, particularly cotton, and for metal artefacts. The Portuguese got permission to build a fortified warehouse there in 1505. Sofala was one of the strongholds of Alfonso de Albuquerque's strategy to transform the Indian Ocean into a Portuguese *mare clausum*, controlling the main straits: the Aden and Hormuz Channels in addition to the Mozambique Channel, thereby preventing Ottoman and Islamic fleets in general from leaving the Red Sea and Persian Gulf.

[AC]

Other copies

BPD, Res 21, 13.

Selected bibliography

PMC 1960, V, pp. 73–8;

Albuquerque 1994, I, p. 64; II, pp. 997–8;

Martins Ferreira 2009, pp. 93–6;

Domingues 2016, s.v.



Carte di Castello 63
*Demostracao [sic] do Estreito
de Malaca*
View of the Strait of Malacca

Lisbon, c. 1669

Pen and ink drawing on canvas-backed paper,
cm 53,8 × 39

No ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany; no inventory record; copy after the *Livro das plantas das fortalezas cidades e povoacoes do Estado da Índia Oriental*, c. 1650, Biblioteca do Paco Ducal de Vila Vicosa, Portugal, Res 21.

This detailed depiction of the entire Strait of Malacca, with the place names in Portuguese, dates back to the period prior to its conquest by the Dutch East India Company allied with the Sultanate of Johor in 1641. Together with the bird's eye view of Malacca by Johannes Vingboons (CdC 46), the Portuguese plan of the city (CdC 74) and a large-scale nautical chart of the strait, which provided an enlarged view of the complex islands in the area (CdC 72), this highly detailed map shows the strategic importance of what was one of the main routes of communication between the Indian Ocean, the China Sea and South East Asia. With the conquest of Malacca, the foundation of Batavia

(1619) and their control over the Sunda Strait between Sumatra and Java, the Dutch East India Company managed to split the Portuguese maritime space in Asia into two areas cut off from one another: on the one hand, the Indian cities and Sri Lanka; on the other, Macau. The expulsion of Portuguese merchants from Japan during the same period (1639), together with the conquest of Malacca (1641) and the progressive Dutch advance in the Maluku Islands, had in fact transformed Macau into a relatively isolated outpost, with the exception of the nearby Philippines.

[AC]

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Other copies
BPD, Res 21, 21.

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Selected bibliography
PMC 1960, V, pp. 73–8;
Martins Ferreira 2009, pp. 93–6;
Domingues 2016, s.v.



Les Cayemites, Haiti

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany; inventory record: 'Vue de [...]'.
 100

As in the case of CdC 42, 49 and 59, this map belongs to a series that Johannes Vingboons based on drawings by Hessel Gerritsz (1582–1632), the first official cartographer of the Dutch India Company. Created using first-hand descriptions from captains and merchants, these maps provide detailed information about the coast, the depths, sandy areas and mooring places (indicated on the map by a drawing of a small anchor). This information is often also accompanied by written indications that alerts the user to the presence of a *sant grondt* (sandy bottom), a cove suitable for mooring or even the presence of lots of pigs upriver (*langs dit riuierken vint me veel varckens*).

Les Cayemites, off the western coast of Haiti, probably represented a complex point on the Caribbean route travelled by the Dutch ships, especially along the coast. As recalled in entry CdC 42, the island was discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1492. At the conclusion of the Peace of Ryswick (1697), the Spanish had to hand over one third of the island to France. Despite the constant Spanish and French presence, Santo Domingo was primarily an important Caribbean trading hub for all the colonial powers in the premodern world.

[AC]

NA, 4.VEL564.

Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 65

Aldus verthoont hem 't CASTEEL

ARGYN uyt der Zee

View of the castle at Arguin
from the sea

Arguin, Mauritania

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, 1665

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
58.7 × 45.7 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany; inventory record, text worn and illegible.

The view shown in Carta di Castello 65 complements CdC 34, which features the fortress and prison used for the slave trade on the small island of Arguin, offshore from present-day Senegal. CdC 34 is a view from land. For its description, we must refer to the story of the occupation of Arguin, from the arrival of the first Portuguese sailors in 1443 all the way through to the 17th century, when the Dutch, British and French took over. In CdC 65, on the other hand, the island is shown from the sea, probably from the mooring point. It is an arid and barren island, characterized by shallow sea beds, a complete absence of plants, sandbanks and no hills (its highest point is just 15 metres above sea level). The fortress and prison used to amass slaves, equipped with tall bastions lined with numerous cannons on every side, contrasts with the emptiness of the landscape. This image provides a clear illustration of some of the dynamics of the global colonial economy and politics during the early modern period. Unlike the American conti-

nent, where the European powers immediately set about conquering the land, in Asia and Africa their territorial occupation was limited to the coastal strips, to the islands and archipelagos near the coasts, which gave them the opportunity to trade with the vast continental territories. The Portuguese, Dutch, British and French constructed a reticular space in which the fortified port cities and occupied islands, equipped with fortresses and protected harbours, acted as intersections. The connections guaranteed local, intra-African and intra-Asian trading networks, while also operating on a transcontinental and global scale. Arguin ensured the possibility to trade with continental Africa, which provided slaves, and acted as a base for their transportation to the American colonies. This explains the repeated attempts made by all the European colonial powers to conquer this small landing place, which has since been totally abandoned.

[AC]

Other copies

BAV, Reg. Lat. 2107-39, fol. 31r;
NA, 4.VELH619-43.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925-33, IV, p. 131, no. 26;
Gosselink 2007, p. 147, no. 150;
Atlas of Mutual Heritage, s.v.



Carte di Castello 66

[*Malabar Coast*]

Malabar Coast up to Kanyakumari
(Cape Camorin) in the Gulf of Mannar,
India

Lisbon, c. 1669

Pen and ink drawing on canvas-backed paper,
55.9 × 40.9 cm,

No ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany; no inventory record; numbering in the bottom right corner: 32; copy after the *Livro das plantas das fortalezas cidades e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental*, c. 1650, Biblioteca do Paco Ducal de Vila Vicosa, Portugal, Res 21.

This highly detailed large-scale nautical chart of Malabar and the adjacent islands and archipelagos, complete with depth readings, shows the thorough knowledge of the Indian coastline acquired by the Portuguese during more than one and a half centuries of sailing, conquests and wars. The first Portuguese fleet, headed by Vasco da Gama, reached Kozhikode (Calicut), on the Malabar coast, in 1498. The city of Kochi (Cochin), in Kerala, was conquered in 1503 and was the capital of Portuguese India until the occupation of Goa in 1510.

Dabhol (Dabul) is perhaps the most evident place name on the map (see CdC 55 for a Dutch map of the same city). In December 1508, the port city of Dabhol was attacked and bombarded by a fleet of Portuguese ships captained by Viceroy Francisco de Almeida (c. 1450–1510): the city was destroyed and the entire population was massacred, marking the start of one of the most violent phases of Portuguese and European colonial occupation.

[AC]

Other copies

BPD, Res 21, 19.

Selected bibliography

PMC 1960, V, pp. 73–8;

Martins Ferreira 2009, pp. 93–6;

Domingues 2016, s.v.



Carte di Castello 67
[*Cabo de Boa Esperança*]
Cape of Good Hope
Southern coast of South Africa

Lisbon, c. 1669

Pen and ink drawing on canvas-backed
paper, 55.3 × 37.8 cm

No ownership stamp of Peter Leopold,
grand duke of Tuscany; no inventory
record; copy after the *Livro das plantas das
fortalezas cidades e povoacoes do Estado
da Índia Oriental*, c. 1650, Biblioteca do
Paco Ducal de Vila Vicosa, Portugal, Res 21.

In 1488, the small fleet captained by Bartolomeu Dias (1450–1500) rounded the southern tip of Africa – which went on to be known as the Cape of Good Hope – for the first time, marking a fundamental moment in the history of European expansion. After making it past Cape Bojador, in present-day Senegal, in 1434, it took around fifty years for Portuguese sailors to gain an understanding of the system of winds and currents in the Gulf of Guinea and succeed in handling the long calm seasons that pushed the crews to their limits. Counterintuitively, seafarers such as Diogo Cão and Bartolomeu Dias, at the service of the Portuguese king John II (1455–95), realized that it was only by sailing out west that they could head back east again, passing the Gulf of Guinea and following the African coastline south. It

was another ten years before the famous fleet captained by Vasco da Gama (c. 1460–1524), during the early period of the long reign of Manuel I (1469–1521, who took the throne in 1495), left Lisbon and rounded the Cape of Good Hope, travelling back up Africa's east coast to Mombasa and reaching Kozhikode (Calicut) on the west coast of India in 1498. From then on, for all the European powers expanding their empires and trading in the Indian Ocean and in Asian seas in general, the Cape represented a strategic restocking and rest point on the long routes that linked the European coasts to Asian coasts. The Dutch settled on the east coast of the Cape, in Table Bay (CdC 20 and 47).

[AC]

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Other copies
BPD, Res 21, 8.

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Selected bibliography
PMC 1960, V, pp. 73–8;
Martins Ferreira 2009, pp. 93–6;
Domingues 2016, s.v.



Carte di Castello 68

*Costa que vai de Mocambique ate
o Cabo de Guardafum. E Ilha de
Sacatom*

Coast from Mozambique to Cape
Guardafui and Socotra Island
South-east coast of Africa

Lisbon, c. 1669

Pen and ink drawing on canvas-backed paper,
52.5 × 40 cm

No ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand
duke of Tuscany; no inventory record; numbering
in the bottom right corner: 10; copy after the
*Livro das plantas das fortalezas cidades e
povoacoes do Estado da Índia Oriental*, c. 1650,
Biblioteca do Paco Ducal de Vila Vicosa, Portugal,
Res 21.

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Other copies
BPD, Res 21, 15.

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Selected bibliography
PMC 1960, V, pp. 73–8;
Martins Ferreira 2009, pp. 93–6;
Domingues 2016, s.v.

Centred on the equator, this extraordinary nautical chart of the African coast and the equatorial archipelagos in the Indian Ocean follows a mapping route that leads from the Cape of Good Hope (CdC 67) to the Horn of Africa. Socotra Island, referred to as ‘Sacatom’ in the title, had been known in the West since antiquity. It is mentioned in an ancient Greek document from the 1st century A.D. entitled *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. The *Periplus* describes the routes linking the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the western Indian Ocean, the ports involved and the goods that were traded. It even talks about far-off China. Since the 8th century, these seas had been sailed by Muslim merchant fleets connecting Egypt with the Arabian Peninsula and India. The multiple editions of Marco Polo’s *Il Milione* also cite Socotra, calling it ‘Scara’ and describing its inhabitants as ‘enchanters’ capable of controlling and changing the winds. The mapping of the archipelagos, including the Maldives, is of great cartographic value: the shallows, rocks, ports, atolls and coral reefs are all shown with great precision.

[AC]

Carte di Castello 69

Costa do Cabo das Correntes

ate o Porto de Sofala

Coast from Cape Correntes to the port
of Sofala

Mozambique

Lisbon, c. 1669

Pen and ink drawing on canvas-backed paper,
53.8 × 38.4 cm

No ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany; no inventory record; numbering in the bottom right corner: 4; copy after the *Livro das plantas das fortalezas cidades e povoacois do Estado da Índia Oriental*, c. 1650, Biblioteca do Paco Ducal de Vila Vicosa, Portugal, Res 21.

This large-scale nautical chart of the coasts near Sofala, in the central part of present-day Mozambique, offers a highly detailed depiction of one of the main ports in south-west Africa, overlooking the Mozambique Channel. The importance of the port of Sofala dates back to the 10th century, when the gold extracted from African mines was traded for textiles, spices and metal artefacts by Muslim merchants from the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and Gujarat. Just a few years after the fleet captained by Vasco da Gama first crossed the Indian Ocean and reached the west coast of India, between 1497 and 1499, the Portuguese *fidalgo* Alfonso de Albuquerque (1453–1515) arrived in Asia in 1503, where he implemented a strategy to turn

the Indian Ocean into a *mare clausum*. Muslim and Ottoman ships approaching from Aden, Hormuz and Cambay were prevented and obstructed from entering the area, while the Portuguese ensured their control over the Strait of Malacca to the east. This map, produced between 1640 and 1650 as part of the administrative surveys of Portuguese India, reveals the detailed knowledge of Africa's east coast acquired over a period of around 150 years. It shows the ports (including the Ilha de São Lourenço, present-day Madagascar, reached by the Portuguese explorer Diogo Dias in 1500, and also a 'Jesuit' port, marked by the monogram HIS), the coves, the shallows and the rocks.

[AC]

Other copies

BPD, Res 21, 11.

Selected bibliography

PMC 1960, V, pp. 73–8;

Martins Ferreira 2009, pp. 93–6;

Domingues 2016, s.v.



Carte di Castello 70

[*Orixa, Bengala, Pegu*]

Bay of Bengal from the Coromandel coast to the Burma coast

Lisbon, c. 1669

Pen and ink drawing on canvas-backed paper,
53.5 × 39.7 cm

No ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany; no inventory record; numbering in the bottom right corner: 14; copy after the *Livro das plantas das fortalezas cidades e povoacoes do Estado da Índia Oriental*, c. 1650, Biblioteca do Paco Ducal de Vila Vicosa, Portugal, Res 21.

The Portuguese reached the Bay of Bengal in 1512, when a fleet of four ships commanded by the *fidalgo* João da Silveira set sail from Goa and arrived in Chittagong, the most important port in the Bengal Sultanate, in present-day Bangladesh. In 1528 the sultan authorized them to build a permanent warehouse in Chittagong and they soon took control of the transportation and sale of salt produced in the Bay of Bengal, particularly on the island of Sandwip. Adopting a system of *cartazes* – exclusive trading licences, issued in exchange for protection, effectively making them a safe-conduct against Portuguese attacks – the Portuguese imposed a tax equivalent to 20% of profits. Chittagong became a rich centre for trading salt, cotton, silver and slaves. It was also the headquarters of the Apostolic Vicariate of Bengal.

In 1615, a Dutch East India Company war fleet, supported by the Arakanese, a people originating in present-day Myanmar, who inhabited the coasts between the kingdom of Pegu to the south and the Bengal Sultanate to the north, was defeated by the Portuguese near Chittagong. Nevertheless, Portuguese domination in the Bay of Bengal began to shrink from 1632 onwards due to the Moghul Empire, founded around a century earlier in northern India by Babur, a descendent of Timur. In 1666, the Moghul Empire conquered Chittagong, defeating the Arakanese and driving off the Portuguese.

Unlike other Portuguese nautical charts in the Castello collection, which are extremely accurate and in a large scale, this map is very vague and almost topological rather than cartographic.

[AC]

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Other copies

BPD, Res 21, 20.

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Selected bibliography

PMC 1960, V, pp. 73–8;

Martins Ferreira 2009, pp. 93–6;

Domingues 2016, s.v.

Carte di Castello 71

[*Arabia Feli (sic), Persia*]

Coast of the eastern Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Arabian Peninsula, the Persian Gulf and part of the Arabian Sea

Lisbon, c. 1669

Pen and ink drawing on canvas-backed paper,
55.7 × 41.5 cm

No ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany; no inventory record; illegible numbering in the bottom right corner: 1[-]; copy after the *Livro das plantas das fortalezas cidades e povoacoes do Estado da Índia Oriental*, c. 1650, Biblioteca do Paco Ducal de Vila Vicosa, Portugal, Res 21.

As well as showing the coastal profiles, this small-scale map of the vast territories situated between present-day Syria, the Red Sea, the Horn of Africa, the Arabian Peninsula and the Persian Gulf is particularly significant because it features the cities of ancient Mesopotamia, from Babylonia, present-day Baghdad, to Damascus, passing through Basra, Mosul and other oases, linked together by watercourses such as the Euphrates and Tigris and the caravan routes. They keys specify the number of days of sailing or travelling between the various stops on this long route. Persia is therefore the centre of the depiction, which was produced not so much in order to foster Portuguese trading activities, but due to the missionary pres-

ence of the Augustinians and Carmelites who spread the gospel in these lands. During the first decades of the 17th century, Pietro della Valle (1586–1652), a famous traveller of Roman origin, visited and described these territories on a journey that lasted from 1614 to 1625, during which time he learned Turkish and Persian. The *Travels* of Pietro della Valle were published in Rome in three volumes in 1650, 1658 and 1663 (the last two by his second wife and daughters) and were almost immediately translated into French, English, Dutch and German. The publications came out during the same period as Cosimo III's travels across Europe and his acquisition of maps in Amsterdam and Lisbon.

[AC]

Other copies

BPD, Res 21, 18.

Selected bibliography

PMC 1960, V, pp. 73–8;

Martins Ferreira 2009, pp. 93–6;

Domingues 2016, s.v.;

Masetti 2017.



Carte di Castello 72

[*Estreito de Malaca*]

Strait of Malacca with the coasts
of Sumatra and Malaysia

Lisbon, c. 1669

Pen and ink drawing on canvas-backed paper,
55.3 × 40 cm

No ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany; no inventory record; numbering in the bottom right corner: 15; copy after the *Livro das plantas das fortalezas cidades e povoacoes do Estado da Índia Oriental*, c. 1650, Biblioteca do Paco Ducal de Vila Vicosa, Portugal, Res 21.

The four Carte di Castello of Malacca and the eponymous strait – the bird's eye view (CdC 46, Dutch), the plan (CdC 74, Portuguese), a small-scale nautical chart of the strait (CdC 63, Portuguese) and this one, a highly detailed large-scale Portuguese nautical chart – show the important role played by this geographical area in the early modern era, acting as one of the main strategic communication hubs and becoming an almost obligatory place of passage between the Indian Ocean, the China Sea and South East Asia. The map features the intricate island systems and the complex routes ships had to follow to cross the strait. Whether travelling north-west from Macau or Batavia or south-east from Goa, rather than Cochin (Kochi) or Chittagong, the captains of the ships, which were often packed with goods and men, making them difficult to manoeuvre, had to know and recognize these intricate mar-

itime routes and get themselves through the numerous islands, so that they did not end up beached, lost or easy prey for pirates. What is more, the clashes with the Sultanate of Johor and the East India Company entailed a considerable increase in the risk of losing the cargo and the ships. The nautical map was therefore a useful tool for escaping ambushes, following alternative, almost maze-like routes through the small islands, which were generally kept secret. The loss of Malacca in 1619 was a particularly serious event in the dynamics of Portuguese India. After a century of maritime domination, Portuguese trade between the Indian Ocean, China Sea and South East Asia was massively obstructed and the sea routes broken up by the Dutch and British conquests. This also had major repercussions for the missionary orders operating in South East Asia and China.

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Other copies

BPD, Res 21, 22.

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Selected bibliography

PMC 1960, V, pp. 73–8;

Martins Ferreira 2009, pp. 93–6;

Domingues 2016, s.v.



Carte di Castello 73

[*Terra dos Cafres Macuas*]

Coasts of the Mozambique Channel
with the Primeiras islands

Lisbon, c. 1669

Pen and ink drawing on canvas-backed paper,
55.5 × 38.5 cm

No ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany; no inventory record; numbering in the bottom right corner: 8; copy after the *Livro das plantas das fortalezas cidades e povoacois do Estado da Índia Oriental*, c. 1650, Biblioteca do Paco Ducal de Vila Vicosa, Portugal, Res 21.

This map should be thought of as following immediately on from CdC 67 which outlines the coasts to the north-east of the Cape of Good Hope, continuing north, along the coast of present-day Mozambique. Like the other thirteen nautical charts that form the Portuguese nucleus of the Carte di Castello, this one also highlights the detailed Portuguese knowledge of the coastal profiles and islands near the Mozambique coast. This knowledge was fundamental for fleets that regularly travelled back up the east coast of Africa after rounding the Cape and for travelling through the Mozambique Channel, towards Madagascar and the archipelagos in the western Indian Ocean.

The inland territories are indicated as 'Terra dos Cafres Macuas'. The term 'Cafres Macuas' refers to a Bantu-speaking African population, the Makua people who lived in the northern part of Mozambique and present-day Tanzania and whose religion was a blend of animism and

Christian monotheism. In the southern part of the map we can see the start of the territories of the Kingdom of Mutapa, founded in around the mid-15th century by Prince Muto-ta Nyatsimba, also known as Mutapa, originally from Great Zimbabwe. The Kingdom of Mutapa extended into the territories situated between the southern part of present-day Mozambique and the eastern regions of Zimbabwe, which had traded with Muslim merchants for centuries. Internal dynastic crises led to a progressive weakening of the kingdom and its division into autonomous territories, known as *prazos*. Contact with the Portuguese and Jesuits resulted in the formal conversion of the Mutapa rulers to Christianity. Their kingdom continued to exist until 1902, when the last king, Mwene Mutapa Chioko, died in a battle against the Portuguese.

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Other copies

BPD, Res 21, 12.

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Selected bibliography

PMC 1960, V, pp. 73–8;

Martins Ferreira 2009, pp. 93–6;

Domingues 2016, s.v.



Carte di Castello 74

Mapa de Malaca

Map of Malacca

Malacca, Malesia

Lisbon, c. 1669

Pen and ink drawing on canvas-backed paper,
52.8 × 34.6 cm

No ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany; no inventory record; copy after the *Livro das plantas das fortalezas cidades e povoacoes do Estado da Índia Oriental*, c. 1650, Biblioteca do Paco Ducal de Vila Vicosa, Portugal, Res 21.

With the help of the key in Portuguese, this detailed plan of the city of Malacca shows it at the period preceding the Dutch conquest of 1641. Unlike the bird's eye view of the city by Johannes Vingboons (CdC 46), this plan, with its 3.6 cm-long scale corresponding to 100 *braccia*, illustrates the territory's administrative and productive structure with geometric precision: the fortress and the walls, the bridge, the neighbourhoods, the churches, the fishermen's dwellings, including those on boats and stilts, the fruit plantations that surround the city and the fish farms in a large rectangular lake. Malacca was conquered in 1511 by the fleet of the Portuguese *fidalgo* Alfonso de Albuquerque (1453–1515) with 1200 soldiers. Albuquerque wiped out the Muslim population. Previous-

ly, over the space of just a few years, Albuquerque's fleet had conquered Goa (1510) and the island of Hormuz (1507), and had started building the fortress of the same name (1508), as well as building an earlier one in Cochin (1503), which was the first Portuguese fort in Asia. Malacca was the first important Asian city to be conquered by the Portuguese. They progressed from there towards Sumatra, the Maluku Islands and China. The Portuguese remained in the city until 1641, when they were ousted by the Dutch East India Company in alliance with the Sultanate of Johor, founded by the son of the sultan of Malacca, Mahumud Shah, in 1528.

[AC]

Other copies

BPD, Res 21, 99.

Selected bibliography

PMC 1960, V, pp. 73–8;

Martins Ferreira 2009, pp. 93–6;

Domingues 2016, s.v.



Carte di Castello 75

Porto de Santa Luzia navolta do Capo de Boa Esperanza na Terra que chamão do Natal

Port of St Lucia near the Cape of Good Hope in the region called Natal

Lisbon, c. 1669

Pen and ink drawing on canvas-backed paper,
48.6 × 37.5 cm

No ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany; no inventory record; numbering in the bottom right corner: 3; copy after the *Livro das plantas das fortalezas cidades e povoacois do Estado da Índia Oriental*, c. 1650, Biblioteca do Paco Ducal de Vila Vicosa, Portugal, Res 21.

The Cape of Good Hope was discovered and rounded for the first time in 1488 by some Portuguese ships commanded by Bartolomeu Dias (1400–1500). Originally called Cabo das Tormentas, it was rebaptized Good Hope by the Portuguese king John II (1455–95). Despite not being the southernmost point of Africa, which is actually Cape Agulhas, around 150 kilometres to the south-east, the Cape gave the Portuguese the certainty that Africa was circumnavigable.

This large-scale depiction of the bay and port of St Lucia show the depth readings and

also mark out the alternating sandy beaches and imposing cliffs towering over the ocean. Together with Table Bay (CdC 20 and 47) and the Cape of Good Hope, on the east side of the same promontory (CdC 67), the map testifies to the strategic importance of these ports and bays for all those seeking to reach the Indian Ocean. It took about three months to reach Table Bay and the Cape of Good Hope from Europe, making them fundamental landing places where ships could restock and crews could rest.

[AC]

Other copies

BPD, Res 21, 10.

Selected bibliography

PMC 1960, V, pp. 73–8;

Martins Ferreira 2009, pp. 93–6;

Domingues 2016, s.v.



Carte di Castello 76

[*Madagascar*]

Island of Madagascar
with the Comoros and neighbouring
islands in the Indian Ocean

Lisbon, c. 1669

Pen and ink drawing on canvas-backed paper,
48.6 × 37.5 cm

No ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany; no inventory record; copy after the *Livro das plantas das fortalezas cidades e povoacoes do Estado da Índia Oriental*, c. 1650, Biblioteca do Paco Ducal de Vila Vicosa, Portugal, Res 21.

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Other copies
BPD, Res 21, 14.

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Selected bibliography
PMC 1960, V, pp. 73–8;
Martins Ferreira 2009, pp. 93–6;
Domingues 2016, s.v.

Discovered and settled by Malaysia populations around 2000 years ago and only subsequently by populations from the east coast of Africa, groups of Muslim merchants who traded with the relatively nearby Socotra and Sofala (see CdC 68 and 69) arrived there in around the 10th century. In his *Milione* ('Of the island of Madagascar', chapter 167), Marco Polo described the island in these eloquent terms in the 13th century: "Madagascar is an island to the south, one thousand miles from Scara (Socotra). And these are Saracens who adore Mohammed ... And know that this is the best island and the biggest in all the world: it is said that it spans four thousand miles. And wares and arts are to be found there". He then goes on to describe navigation from and to India, which is subject to the monsoons and strong currents: "And yes I tell you that ships can go no further forward than from here to this island to the south, and to Zazechibar (Zanghibar); because the sea flows so strongly to the south that one would risk not coming back. And yes I tell you that ships, which come from Mabar to this island, come in twenty days, and when they return to Mabar they struggle to return in three months: and this is because of the sea that flows so strongly to the south".

Lastly, he mentions the extraordinary fauna, different from that found anywhere else, particularly describing a gigantic bird, now extinct, known to us as the Aepyornis: "Certain merchants who have been there told me that there are griffon birds ... but they're not like we describe them here, that is to say half bird and half lion, but they're like eagles and ... their wings are so big that they cover twenty paces, and their feathers are twelve paces long, and they are as big as you would expect for that length". A storm caused a Portuguese ship commanded by Diogo Dias to sight and reach the island by chance in 1500 and no European power managed to establish permanent warehouses there until the 18th century. Only the French were able to found a settlement in Fort-Dauphin, present-day Tolagnaro, at the southern tip of the island. Madagascar became a base for numerous pirates who, having settled on the Île Sainte-Marie, off the north-east coast of the island, attacked the heavily laden fleets as they made their way back towards the Atlantic across the Indian Ocean.

[AC]

Carte di Castello 77

TERRA DO NATAL até o Rio Lourenço
(sic) Marques, e Cabo das Correntes

Land of Natal up to the Lourenço
Marques River and Cape Correntes
Coast of southern Mozambique

Lisbon, c. 1669

Pen and ink drawing on canvas-backed paper,
49.9 × 38.8 cm

No ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany; no inventory record; copy after the *Livro das plantas das fortalezas cidades e povoacois do Estado da Índia Oriental*, c. 1650, Biblioteca do Paco Ducal de Vila Vicosa, Portugal, Res 21.

This graduated large-scale nautical chart traces the coastal profile of the southern territories of present-day Mozambique, near the bay of the city of Maputo, known as Lourenço Marques until its independence from Portugal in 1976. The 16th-century Portuguese explorer Lourenço Marques, together with António Caldeira (about whom we have no further biographical information), explored the southern coasts of present-day Mozambique, which Vasco da Gama called Terra de Natal. Having arrived near the bay that is now home to Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, they found favourable conditions for trading ivory and subsequently copper with the local popula-

tions. After marrying an indigenous woman, with whom he had two children, Laurenço Marques settled in this territory, which was officially annexed to Portuguese India in 1545 by the explorer João de Castro (1500–48), *capitão general* and then viceroy. The Portuguese subsequently built a small fortress on the southern edge of the bay, also named after Laurenço. In the 19th century, Mozambique became the main Portuguese colony in Africa along with Angola. The name ‘Laurenço’ has been Italianized as ‘Lourenzo’ in this map, perhaps suggesting an Italian copyist.

[AC]

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Other copies
BPD, Res 21, 9.

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Selected bibliography
PMC 1960, V, pp. 73–8;
Martins Ferreira 2009, pp. 93–6;
Domingues 2016, s.v.

Carte di Castello 78

Coulão

Kollam, India

Lisbon, c. 1669

Pen and ink drawing on canvas-backed paper,
33.9 × 24.2 cm

No ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany; no inventory record; numbering in the bottom right corner: 68; copy after the *Livro das plantas das fortalezas cidades e povoacois do Estado da Índia Oriental*, c. 1650, Biblioteca do Paco Ducal de Vila Vicosa, Portugal, Res 21.

Coulão (Kollam in the Malayalam language; also known as Quilon) is a city in the southernmost part of the state of Kerala, on India's south-west coast. The port of ancient Quilon, mentioned and perhaps visited by Marco Polo during his long return journey towards the Mediterranean, when he circumnavigated the China Sea and Indian Ocean, was visited by Muslim fleets and Chinese junks. The Portuguese arrived there in 1502 and built a warehouse. A few years later, in 1518, following a tried and tested model of colonization and the violent conversion of the Muslims, the fort of São Tomé was built on the nearby Tangasseri beach area in honour of St Thomas, 'apostle of the Indias', followed by numerous churches and convents. After the conquest, the Portuguese transformed Kollam into the main trading post for pepper, in open conflict with the

Muslim merchants. In 1661, after almost 150 years of Portuguese rule, the Dutch East India Company took possession of the city, destroying the fort and building one of their own.

The highly simplified Carta di Castello forms part of the administrative surveys of the cities and territories of Portuguese India, which are collected together in the *Livros das plantas, das fortalezas...* (see CdC 61). The plan is limited to images of the walls, a few roughly marked out settlements and, above all, the places of worship and buildings belonging to Christian religious orders. Numerous crosses mark the territory. This is an extremely colonial image marked by the appropriation and violent rule implemented by the Portuguese and the religious orders.

[AC]

Other copies

BPD, Res 21, 81.

Selected bibliography

PMC 1960, V, pp. 73–8;

Chaudhuri 1985;

Martins Ferreira 2009, pp. 93–6;

Domingues 2016, s.v.



Carte di Castello 79

*Eijgentlijke afbeeldinge van de
Maniere van Dansen der Naturale In-
woonderen ofte Hottontotten, aen de
Caep de Bona Esperanca*

Contemporary depiction of the manner
of dancing of the Hottentots native to
the Cape of Good Hope

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1667

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
73.8 × 52.3 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke
of Tuscany; no inventory record; inscription in the
bottom left margin: 'palazzo di Castello 1858'.

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Other copies
one-off.

Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 132, no. 38;
Bassani–Tedeschi 1990;
De Groot 2005;
Gosselink 2007, p. 148, no. 169.

This image shows some members of the Khoekhoe tribe who inhabit the Cape of Good Hope region. They are dancing to the beat of a drum. The title describes the inhabitants as 'Hottentots', a derogatory and onomatopoeic term probably inspired by the aspirated sounds that characterize their spoken language (described as consisting of whistles and tongue clicks). Carta di Castello 79 forms part of a series of four (CdC 79–82) showing the inhabitants of one of the best represented regions in the Castello collection (see CdC 20, 47, 67, 75). The series, which we would now describe as ethnographic, is not only a one-off among the corpus of watercolours attributed to Vingboons, but also within the Castello collection, which does not contain any other similar images.

The evident similarities in the painterly style, the subject matter, the titles and the explicit reference to 'Hottentots' that characterize these

four maps shows that they belong to an ethnographic illustration genre (probably also practised by Vingboons, albeit sporadically), in which details drawn from first-hand observations are combined with stereotypes and European iconographic models. As in the case of the strictly cartographic material, they testify to a desire for eye-catching visual communication intended for a global market. The research conducted by Bassiani and Tedeschi (1990) reveals how these images helped to create a model that proved a great success in premodern Europe. However, they also show the convergence of European painterly and iconographic models, transformed and adapted to depict populations with whom the Europeans came into contact during the process of discovery, conquest and colonization.

[sc]



Carte di Castello 80

Eeen Hottentottinen net haer Kinder

Female Hottentot with her child

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1667

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
37.4 × 52.3 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany; no inventory record.

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Other copies
one-off.

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Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 132, no. 37;
Bassiani–Tedeschi 1990;
De Groot 2005;
Gosselink 2007, pp. 100, 148, no. 168.

This image shows a Khoekhoe woman carrying a child on her back in a sling and holding a pan in her right hand and a small plant in her left hand. She is wearing leggings and a metal bracelet. Unlike CdC 79, which outlines a landscape recalling the Cape of Good Hope and Table Bay, the image of the woman has a neutral background. This pictorial decision seems to have been inspired by the wish to present a female ‘model’ of the indigenous populations.

The Dutch and Khoekhoe first encountered one another in the 16th century, during the first trade voyages that included a stop at the Cape of Good Hope. The Dutch primarily purchased livestock, which was butchered and preserved in the form of salted meat, trading it for bread, pipes, metal and alcoholic drinks. The earliest descriptions of the Khoekhoe, found in travel journals from 1595–7, focus on their language but also their total nudity apart from animal skins covering their private parts (see CdC 79–82). The written descriptions were often accompanied by drawings. Andries Beeck-

man (1628–64) was an artist who set out as a soldier on board the Dutch ship ‘Arnhem’ and reached the Cape of Good Hope on 21 December 1657. During his stay, hosted by the first Dutch governor Jan van Riebeeck, Andries Beeckman produced a series of sketches and drawings from life, which he took up again upon his return to the Netherlands, transforming them into watercolours that entered the most important Dutch cartographic and ethnographic collections. One of the buyers of these drawings was Laurens van der Hem (1621–78), one of the most important late-17th-century Dutch collectors and the owner of an immense cartographic collection. Cosimo III met Laurens van der Hem in Amsterdam on 2 January 1668 and was particularly impressed by the collection, which is described as ‘an office with a large display of drawings of various cities, coasts and places from the Indies, brilliantly illustrated’ (Hoogwerff 1919, p. 76).

[sc]



Carte di Castello 81

*Een Hottentott, ofte naturele
In woonden, aen Cabo de Bona
Esperanca, op de Jacht gaene*

A Hottentot, or a native of the Cape
of Good Hope, as he sets out to go
hunting

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1667

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
37.3 × 52 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke
of Tuscany; no inventory record.

This image of the native as he sets out hunting echoes the composition of the watercolour of the woman and child (see CdC 80). It shows the hunter against a neutral background with some mountains visible in the distance. In keeping with a form of depiction that had by now become standardized (see CdC 82), the man is wearing only a cloth over his shoulders and an animal hide that encircles his hips. The hunting attributes are extremely simple: a lance, a bow and a quiver. His arms are adorned with metal bracelets.

The standardization of the images, which are only differentiated by the presence of objects that illustrate the activity being shown, draws our attention to their production. While we doubtlessly have to consider the existence of written descriptions and drawings by eye wit-

nesses, merchants and explorers (see CdC 79 and 80), CdC 81 seems to have been inspired by European iconographic models with the addition of objects imported to Europe from the 'Indies'. Rarities and 'fineries' formed the principal components of the rich collections to be found in Dutch cities. On 31 December 1667, Cosimo III visited the collection of the Amsterdam merchant Matthijs de Boer, who owned "a great collection of rare things from the Indies, such as pictures, animals, stones, shells and similar things" (Hoogerwerff 1919, p. 73). In 1682, the grand duke purchased the famous shell collection (360 shells collected over a twenty-eight year period) belonging to Rumphius (1637–1702), a botanist who worked for the Dutch East India Company.

[sc]

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Other copies
one-off.

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Selected bibliography
Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 132, no. 36;
Bassiani–Tedeschi 1990;
De Groot 2005;
Gosselink 2007, p. 148, no. 167.



Carte di Castello 82

*Een wilde Hottentott gaende ten Oorlog
aen de Caepo de Boa Esperanca*

A savage Hottentot setting out for the
war at the Cape of Good Hope

Attributed to Johannes Vingboons
and his workshop

Amsterdam, c. 1667

Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper,
37.3 × 52 cm

Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, grand duke of
Tuscany; no inventory record.

This image of a Khoekhoe warrior has numerous similarities to CdC 81, with the only exception of a small bag worn around his neck and the different position of his right arm. It raises a number of questions about the complex relations between the Dutch and Khoekhoe. After a relatively peaceful initial phase, based on trading objects and products and involving the presence of interpreters and mediators, relations became more tense and complex due to the Dutch demands for exclusive use of the grazing land. The transformation of the area around the Cape into a permanent colony and the development of stable agricultural activities led to open conflict between the two sides, which resulted in the occupation of the territories by the Dutch and the dispersal and enslavement of the local populations.

In the 1660s and 1670s, this colonization was marked by the construction of a fort (*Casteel de Goede Hoop*), as already observed in the description of other locations included in the Castello collection (see CdC 3, 15, 19, 25, 29, among many others). Zacharias Wagenaer (1614–68), second governor of the Cape for the Dutch East India Company, an official with great experience in the organization of the company in South America (Brazil), Asia (Indonesia, China and Japan) and Africa, was appointed to oversee the construction of the fort. Also known as a writer, draughtsman and watercolour artist, Wagenaer may have played a fundamental role in spreading images of the Khoekhoe across Europe.

[sc]

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Other copies
one-off.

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Selected bibliography

Wieder 1925–33, IV, p. 132, no. 35;

Bassiani–Tedeschi 1990;

De Groot 2005;

Gosselink 2007, pp. 101, 148, no. 166.



*Relazione ufficiale del viaggio
del principe Cosimo de' Medici
negli anni 1668-1669*

Tuscany, late 17th century
paper; 580 × 910 mm, fols. I, 162
Mediceo Palatino 123/1

Tuscany, late 17th century
paper; 570 × 910 mm; fols. I, 274, I'
Mediceo Palatino 123/2

From autumn 1668 to autumn 1669, Prince Cosimo de' Medici, son of Grand Duke Ferdinand II, went on a long journey that took him from Italy to Spain, Portugal, England (with a brief visit to Ireland), the Netherlands and Belgium, returning to his own country via France. Bad family relations, particularly with his wife Marguerite Louise d'Orléans, have often been used to explain this and his previous trips to northern Italy and Europe. However, the composition of his entourage, the choice of itineraries and the nature of the reports written by order of the prince, reveal that these journeys were evidently of an instructive and educational nature in view of his future commitments as a ruler (Cosimo became grand duke in May 1670).

The anonymous and undated 'Official report' on this journey, written in a particularly neat hand, is contained in two sumptuous paper volumes (Mediceo Palatino 123/1 on Spain and Portugal and Mediceo Palatino 123/2 on the rest of his European itinerary), in an atlas folio of exceptional proportions, bound in red leather adorned with gold friezes and illustrated by a large number of line-and-wash drawings. The drawings were traced on unnumbered pages and occupy one side, or sometimes two. Some of these pages are bigger than the codex itself and are therefore folded inside it. When unfolded they can even exceed three metres in length. The two volumes were probably always intended to remain in manuscript form rather

than for publication, acting as a literary 'monument' to be shown to guests of the Medici grand duke. A copy of this report in several volumes, without illustrations, but with a more complete text than the version in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, is conserved in part at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence (Fondo Nazionale II.III.429-431) and in part at the Archivio di Stato of Florence (Mediceo del Principato, 6391; Villani 2004, p. 176).

Various accounts of the journey were written by the gentlemen in the prince's entourage: the most important by Count Lorenzo Magalotti and Marquess Filippo Corsini, and other shorter reports by Giovan Battista Gornia of Bologna, who was the prince's doctor and also a reader of Medicine in Pisa from 1660 to 1670, and by the 'house composer' Filippo Marchetti (Villani 2004, pp. 176-87, with extensive bibliography). Nevertheless, the 'official report' essentially seems to be based on the accounts given by Corsini and Magalotti, who had to interrupt his journey in April 1669 due to illness and who may have been the mastermind behind the compilation according to Crinò (*Un principe di Toscana* 1968, pp. XIV-XXIX).

What is certain is that the undertaking was certainly the result of teamwork that involved a number of painters as well as the author(s) of the text. Based on claims made by Moreni in his *Bibliografia storico-ragionata* (1805, I, p. 301), scholarship attributes the drawings in the two volumes to the Florentine painter and

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Selected bibliography

Bandini 1791-3, III, cols. 344-5; Moreni 1805, I, p. 301; Hoogewerff 1919, esp. pp. 221-91; *Viaje de Cosme* 1933; *Un principe di Toscana* 1968, p. X, note 2 and *passim*; Wis 1970; *El viaje del principe* 2004; Marchisio 2004, pp. 287-307; Vázquez Santos 2004, pp. 312-14; Villani 2004, p. 176 and *passim*; Taín Guzmán 2014, pp. 20-4.



Attributed to Pier Maria Baldi, *Lisbon*, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Mediceo Palatino 123/1, fol. 122bis.



Attributed to Pier Maria Baldi, *Amsterdam*, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Mediceo Palatino 123/2, fol. 124bis.

architect Pier Maria Baldi, who is in fact mentioned in a number of travel journals as being among the prince's companions as a 'butler' (*Viaje de Cosme* 1933, p. 7; *El viaje del principe* 2004, I, pp. 37–8). Baldi had found favour with the Medici family since 1667. A number of letters of recommendation from Grand Duke Ferdinand II to Pietro da Cortona and Gian Lorenzo Bernini date to that year, asking them to assist the young Florentine who is "well advanced in draughtsmanship and the use of colour" with his drawing and painting studies in Rome (Chiarelli 1963). He remained in the service of Grand Duke Cosimo III for many years, as demonstrated by the roles he covered upon returning to Italy from this long journey, where he was made general overseer of fortresses and general superintendent of Medici palace and villa building projects. The drawings – probably based on sketches done in situ, illustrating all the places visited by the Medici court on the journey, shown exactly as they were at that time (the city of Santiago during a storm, Munich with its smoking canons, immediately after firing blanks in the prince's honour, 'Venta de Busseiras' struck by a wind storm) – must have kept the artist busy for several years given that the views had not yet been completed by 1686, the year of his death, and Cosimo had to appoint the draughtsman Francesco Petrucci to finalize Baldi's unfinished project (Taín Guzmán 2014, p. 21). The Florentine engraver and draughtsman Stefano Della Bella has been attributed with the view of Florence that features on fol. [4 bis] of the first volume, which is very similar to a large drawing of Florence in the Cabinet des Dessins in the Louvre and stylistically different from the other illustrations in the two volumes (Dearborn Massar 1981). Della Bella, who had made a name for himself in Paris thanks to the engravings commissioned by Cardinal Richelieu, enjoyed the protection of the Medici court in Florence. He

produced title pages, illustrations of festivities (such as those produced in 1661 for the wedding of Prince Cosimo, when he acted as master draughtsman) and portraits for his patrons. The view of Florence was therefore reused in the first of the two travel albums (Della Bella died in 1644) and was probably completed by Baldi (or another draughtsman), with the addition of the putti bearing the city and Medici family coats of arms. If this attribution is accurate, we still need to clarify when and how the drawing was acquired and reused, as it predates the creation of the two volumes by several years yet features the same watermark and countermark visible on every page of the two manuscripts.

The only exception in iconographical terms is the drawing at the start of the first volume, which shows the Virgin being crowned by the Trinity and surrounded by angels, apostles and saints, with Noah and Moses in the foreground. Latin quotes from the Old Testament and various authors appear beneath the drawing and at the beginning of the second volume.

It is difficult to establish when the two codices were completed. The documents uncovered by Crinò show that in the 1680s Grand Duke Cosimo III was still making enquiries with Francesco Terriesi, resident in London, about the coats of arms of the city of Kinsale and the island of Santa Maria, clearly so that they could be placed on the relative watercolours. Meanwhile, in 1689 he asked the same correspondent to send him a sketch of the small village of Benson, which was evidently missing from his collection (*Un principe di Toscana* 1968, pp. xxxi–xxxiii). The scholar therefore felt it plausible to propose 1689 as the earliest date for the definitive version of the 'Official report', while 1691 should be considered the *terminus ante quem* according to Taín Guzmán (2014, p. 22). Indeed, that was the date Cosimo III was granted *trattamento regio*, which

gave him the right to wear a closed crown instead of a rayed crown, like the one that features in the view of Florence.

There is no doubt about the documentary importance of the iconographic corpus as a whole, together with the descriptions, for the study of 17th century Europe, our knowledge of the places depicted and the reconstruction of historical, urban and artistic events. In the case of some towns, the images in the volumes are the first known depictions.

The two manuscripts, which formed part of the grand ducal Palatine collection, arrived in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in 1783.

The two manuscripts are open respectively at fol. 122bis (Mediceo Palatino 123/1), with the view of Lisbon, and at fol. 112bis (Mediceo Palatino 123/2, with the view of the city of Alkmaar.

[EA]

*Viaggi di Alemagna, Paesi Bassi del
1667 e di Spagna, Francia, Inghilterra
e Olanda del 1668 e 1669 fatti dal
Serenissimo Principe Cosimo di Toscana
di poi Gran Duca Terzo di quel nome,
scritti dal Marchese Filippo Corsini
Coppiero di S.A.S. e figliolo del Marchese
Bartolommeo Corsini*

Tuscany, c. 1670

paper, 310 × 220 cm (open: 310 × 500 cm), fols. 337
ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 6387

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Other copies

Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Carte Stroziane,
series I, 57, c. 1670, paper, 330 × 230 cm
(open: 330 × 495 cm), fols. 250

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Selected bibliography

Passerini 1858; *Le carte strozziane* 1884;
Acton 1932; *Archivio Mediceo del Principato*
1951; Wis 1970; Fasano Guarini 1984; Martelli
1996; Villani 2004; *Il Viaggio in Europa* 2005;
Brunetti 2013.

In the space of two years, between October 1667 and October 1669, Grand Prince Cosimo de' Medici (1642–1723) – eldest son of the grand duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand II, and himself grand duke from May 1670 under the name Cosimo III – completed what would go on to become an essential part of every young European gentleman's education: a tour of Europe, divided into two stages in this case.

The prince was effectively not new to travelling outside the Tuscan borders. Just a few years earlier, between 1664 and 1665, when the cracks in his recent marriage to Marguerite Louise d'Orléans, the niece of Louis XIII, had become evident, ultimately becoming impossible to bridge, Cosimo had left the court to visit numerous places in northern Italy.

Once again, on 22 October 1667, a few months after the birth of his second child Anna Maria Luisa, Cosimo set off on another journey with an entourage of noblemen and servants and the rather implausible intention of remaining anonymous. This time he headed for Germany, passing through the Tyrol, and then to the Netherlands, travelling there by boat along the Rhine. After returning to Florence on 12 May 1668, he departed again in September of the same year for a longer tour that ended in October 1669, after visiting Spain and Portugal, England, the Netherlands and, lastly, France.

There are various accounts of these journeys, but the most complete, inasmuch as it includes both the first trip (1667–8) and the second (1668–9), is the journal – on display here – by Cosimo's cupbearer Filippo Corsini (1647–1706).

Corsini came from a family of merchants and bankers who diversified their activities and investments over the years, enabling them to purchase a noble title in the mid-17th century. He was a regular face at the grand-ducal court since his childhood – so much so that Luigi Passerini, who wrote his family's biography, described him as “more of a friend and companion than a courtier to Cosimo, son of Grand Duke Ferdinand II” (Passerini 1858, p. 155) – and formed part of the prince's entourage on his journeys outside Italy, acting as a carver or house steward on both occasions.

There are two copies of Corsini's journal at the Archivio di Stato di Firenze.

The first is in the Mediceo del Principato archive collection, one of the few ancient dynastic collections to have remained almost intact. The collection is the result of a build-up of documents connected to closely related fields, such as the public activity of governance on the one hand and the management of Medici family and dynastic interests on the other. It is primarily made up of correspondence and is divided into numerous series, including an

Appendix, which is where Corsini's journal is to be found. The creation of this Appendix can probably be attributed to the work of the historian and archivist Guglielmo Enrico Saltini, who extracted a number of rows from the *Miscellanea Medicea* collection in the 1860s, probably with a view to including them among the series of papers in the *Mediceo del Principato* collection, albeit without succeeding in finding an adequate place for them. In around 1951, when the summarized inventory of the *Mediceo del Principato* was published at the behest of the then director of the Florentine archive Antonio Panella, a similar attempt to merge the two Medici led to further additions to the Appendix, which was supplemented with the pieces extracted from the *Miscellanea* that could not satisfactorily be reunited with the presumed series of *Mediceo* origin. Despite its miscellaneous nature, this series still makes it possible to identify some specific sections: Corsini's journal, for example, belongs to a homogenous group of documents comprising – as we read in the collection inventory (p. 234) – “journals, reports, papers, and other writings primarily regarding journeys made by the rulers and princes and journeys of people not belonging to the Medici family, including documents not strictly pertinent to the journeys themselves.” The manuscript therefore tells the story of the first journey to Germany and the Netherlands (1667–8) on fols. 51r–135r and the second journey (1668–9) through Spain, Portugal, England, France and the Netherlands on fols. 137r–337v. On the second journey, the narrative concludes on 13 October, the date Cosimo and his entourage arrived in Marseille and embarked on two grand-ducal galleys.

The second copy is in a private collection belonging to the Strozzi family, demonstrating how these compilations enjoyed widespread circulation in manuscript format in the archives and libraries of the main Florentine families.

This particular copy forms part of the first series of the collection, which was donated, together with the second and third series, to the *Archivio della Segreteria di Stato del Granducato di Toscana* in 1784. Like the two later series, this series contains much of the library of Senator Carlo di Tommaso Strozzi (1597–1670), added to by his successors and heirs, with remnants of original documents also concerning the Medici family and part of the family's administrative archive. Indeed, on the title page of the Strozzi copy, we read as follows beneath the abovementioned title: ‘Di Luigi del Senatore Carlo di Tommaso Strozzi. 1677’. This is followed by the account of the first journey (fols. 11r–94r) and of the second journey (fols. 99r–250v). As in the copy in the *Mediceo del Principato* collection, the latter ends on 13 October 1669, although in this case it concludes with these words: “Fu S.A.”.

While a comparison clearly reveals that Corsini's written account of the first journey owes a large debt to the report by Cosimo Prie, the prince's treasurer who was also included among his entourage on his journey around Europe, in its turn it is the main source for the sumptuous ‘official report’ on the second journey written at a later date, richly bound and illustrated with beautiful views of cities and countries (*Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, *Mediceo Palatino* 123/1–2).

In any case, Corsini's writing helps us to focus on elements of certain interest: in his report packed with stops and transfers, the young diarist turns his enquiring mind to the cities they visited, the palaces, the farmland; he records information on local history, customs and institutions, and on religious traditions; he notes down the demeanour of the prince, his ‘devout practices’ and, later, his very reasons for travelling, summed up at the beginning as the result of his anxiety to “fulfil his admirable curiosity to see more distant countries”, or rather the

knowledge of the ‘pleasure’ that derives “for those whom fate has destined to bear the burden of governing people who are their subjects, learning the customs of various nations, knowing the qualities of different countries and observing the policies of great rulers”.

Despite the difficult family situation that presumably made him prefer to stay away from court, to which he was not yet tied by any governmental responsibilities, there can be no doubt that the prince was also inspired to travel around Europe by a desire to complete his education and prepare himself for his future as grand duke through contact with the cultures of countries that represented rising stars on the political and trading scene of the age. He was particularly interested in new technologies that could be put to use in Tuscany. Indeed, after 1670, Cosimo sent engineers and professionals with specific instructions to study them, making them follow the same itineraries he had travelled.

Nevertheless, what really emerges from Corsini's account is the prince's capacity to forge or consolidate relations – long-lasting ones in some cases – with key figures in the world of European humanistic and scientific culture and politics. To this regard, his first stay in the Netherlands is a prime example. Here the prince availed himself of the guidance of illustrious intellectuals, such as the book merchant and publisher Pieter Blaeu (from whom he purchased “some Geography maps drawn and illustrated with rare exquisiteness ... and they showed the plans of various Ports, Cities, Fortresses and Coasts in both the East and West Indies”) and Nicolaas Heinsius, a “leading Dutch scholar”; he met scholars such as Jacob Gronouw, “professor of literature” at Leiden University, as well as key figures from local politics and finance, including the delegates sent by the Dutch Republic and the representatives of the India Company.

Cosimo had just turned twenty-seven when he completed his grand tour of Europe. Shortly afterwards he would be called upon to take on “the burden of governing peoples”, meaning that he would have to capitalize upon the experiences he had had on his journey.

[FD]

Tendo il ^{mo} Principe Cosimo di Toscana pochi anni addietro
 quasi che tutto l'Italia venne ancora d'appagare la sua diletta
 curiosità di vedere Paesi più lontani e incogniti in effetto la non-
 gna che di quelli ancora non si fanno citazioni. Non prendendo dun-
 que mediante la lunghezza del viaggio condur' loro fuori alla qua-
 lita di un tanto Principe conveniente. Fatto stabilire ed essere
 del ^{mo} Principe Cosimo di Toscana che doveva incognito in tutto
 prenderlo e fu stabilita la partenza alla volta d'Albania
 ex parte sua il di 12. d'Aprile del 1567 e fu formato il corteo
 di quelli che dovevano aver servizio. Et i che furono i seguenti.
 Conte Giulio Cesare Orsini di Novellara. Marchese di Camerino.
 Conte Antonio di Castiglione. Primo Cont. di Camerino.
 e Marsilio Filippo Orsini Scelto.
 e Marsilio di Guadagni } Camerini
 e Gualtiero e Marsilio }
 e Gaspare Chiodi. Camerino di S. Giorgio Segretario
 e Francesco Montecchi. Camerino e Cappellano
 e Don. Gio. Maria e Moniglia e Medico.
 Cosimo di Montorio. Direzione
 Filippo e Marsilio. M. di Camp.
 Andrea di S. Fuccio
 Jacopo di S. Fuccio
 e Michele Cuper }
 Francesco Vincini } Offiziali di Camera
 Carlo Cuper }
 Filippo Santucci. Segretario

Florence, ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 6387, fol. 5r.

*Viaggio del Serenissimo Principe
Cosimo di Toscana descritto in rima
dal dottore Giovanni Andrea Moniglia
Medico dell'A. S. 1667*

Tuscany, 1667
paper; 267 × 205 mm; fols. I, 127
Antinori 84

During his journey across Europe in 1667, Cosimo III was accompanied by numerous figures, some of whom belonged to the Florentine nobility, while others played various roles at court. They included Giovanni Andrea Moniglia (1624–1700), who not only served the Medici court as a physician, but was also highly regarded for his abilities as a dramatic poet. Like some of his other travel companions, he also devoted himself to writing a travel journal, describing the places and people they encountered with the verve that characterizes much of his literary work. Moniglia's original account not distinguishes itself for being composed in verse, but even more so for its irony and the sometimes openly polemical vein instilled in many of his descriptions. These characteristics give his narrative a cutting and markedly personal tone.

Moniglia was also an academician at the Arcadi and his theatrical works earned him a worthy place on the 17th-century dramatic literature stage. However, the work he performed at court for his protectors and the deriving consensus, in addition to his poorly tolerated polemical style, which was a permanent feature of his personality, soon attracted the envy and bitterness of many of his peers, with whom Moniglia clashed in long, scathing arguments.

Moniglia's travel journal is known through three manuscripts: in addition to this one, the autograph Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 804 and the Florence, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo di Principato, 6385. Part of the journal was published in 1912 by Edoardo Benvenuti.

[ss]

Selected bibliography

Benvenuti 1912, pp. 56–81;
Van Veen–McCormick 1984, p. 87;
Der Weg in den Süden, p. 97.

Justus van Utens (Brussels, ?–Carrara, 1609)
Villa Medicea di Castello

Tempera on canvas, 147 × 233.5 cm
Florence, Villa Medicea della Petraia

The lunette of the Villa Medicea di Castello forms part of the famous pictorial cycle of seventeen lunettes commissioned by Grand Duke Ferdinand I de' Medici between c. 1599 and 1604 to decorate the Grand Salon in the Villa Medicea di Artimino, nicknamed the 'Ferdinanda'.

With clear celebratory intent, the cycle was supposed to immortalize the main Medici residences dotted around the grand duchy, showcasing the magnificence of the court and the interest the Medici family had always shown in the arts. Traditionally attributed to the landscape and architectural painter Giusto Utens, who was originally from Flanders but subsequently moved to Carrara, recent studies have revealed that the pictorial cycle – of which just fourteen lunettes are still extant today – was produced by several different artists.

Each lunette stands out for its aerial 'bird's eye' view, which seeks to forge a link between the principal spatial and architectural values of the building and the surrounding nature and landscape, emphasizing the eloquent and stimulating connection between them. This strongly documentary element, based on the example set by the chorographic tradition, meant that a specific place could be depicted in terms of both its perspective and its topography.

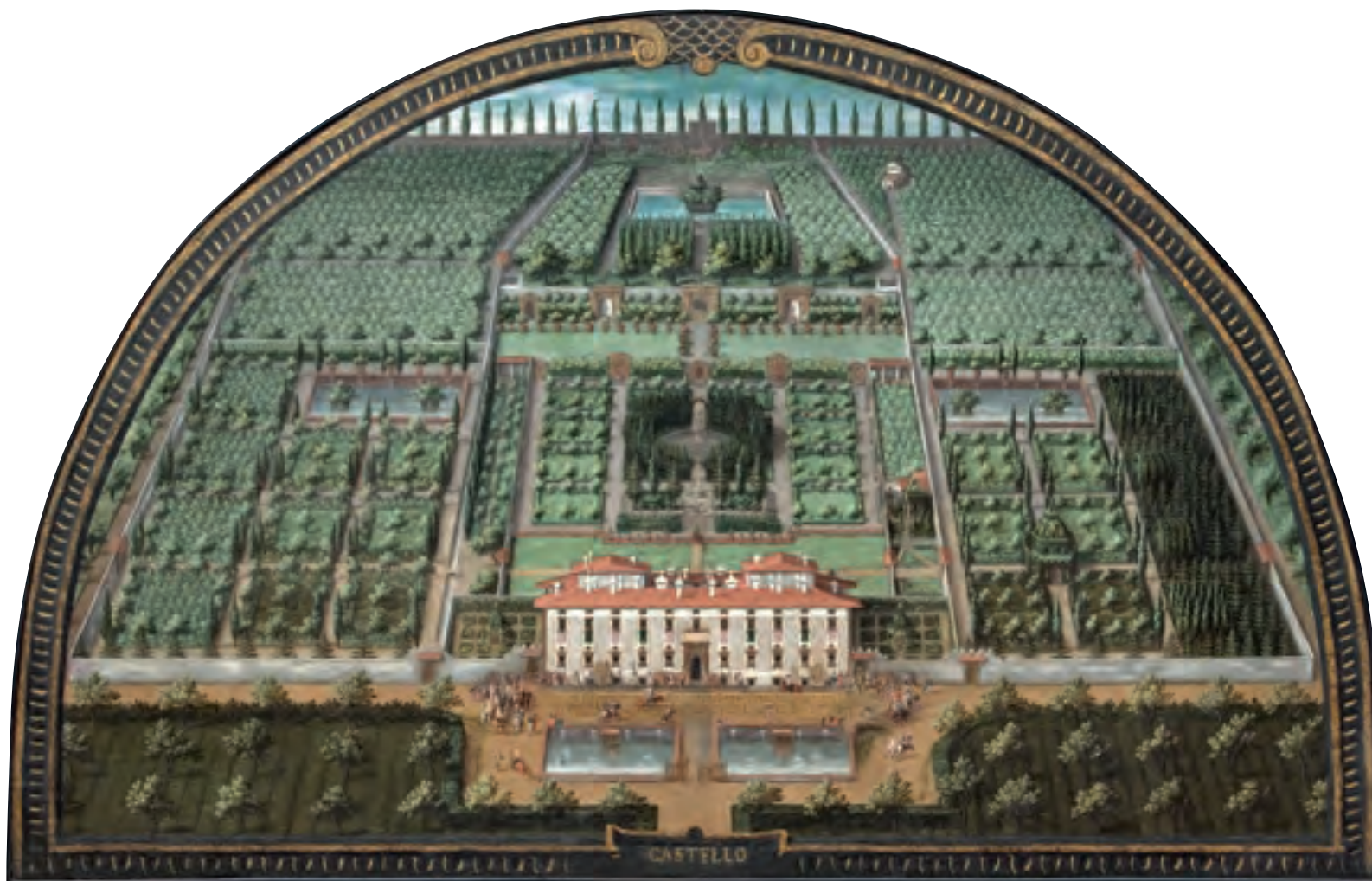
Indeed, the Castello lunette provides the oldest surviving figurative record of the original layout of the famous garden at the villa, as commissioned in 1538 by Cosimo I, father of Ferdinando de' Medici, from the architect and sculptor Niccolò di Raffaello di Niccolò dei

Pericoli known as Tribolo. It was the first example of a formal Italian garden and its creation was the result of a complex iconographical programme designed to exalt the lost 'Etruscan' kingdom, which was finally reunited and brought to peace under the guidance of the new duke. The garden as a whole had a strictly tripartite arrangement on different levels, each of which was linked by a central axis lined with a sequence of fountains and water features, following a specific arrangement from top to bottom: the trapezoidal fishpond basin decorated with the bronze 'Appennino' sculpture positioned above the so-called 'Selvatico' area of garden, the Grotto of the Animals, the first example of an artificial grotto, and the *theatrum aquae*, on the terrace with the citrus trees, the Fountain of Fiorenza, *alias Venere Anadiomene*, symbolizing the city of Florence at the centre of the garden hidden by green hedge and, behind the villa, the 'large fountain' of Hercules and Antaeus, celebrating Cosimo's victory over his enemies. Lastly, the Villa – brought to life by a knightly tournament with groups of ladies and knights looking out of the windows – is perfectly aligned with the avenue and the bridge over the fishponds in front and the garden fountains behind, in keeping with a Platonic vision of spatial perfection, which did not however find a parallel in reality. Compared to the series as a whole, this lunette also stands out for the elevated pictorial synthesis evident in its narrative character, combined with an unusual focus on details.

[MM]

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Selected bibliography

Acidini Luchinat–Galletti 1992; *L'immagine dei Giardini* 2016; Brunon 2017.



Lorenzo Lippi (Florence, 1606–65)
*Cosimo III de' Medici as a Young Man
in Armour*

oil on canvas, 78 × 63 cm
Grassina (Florence), Collezione Alberto Bruschi

Marks: the wooden crosspiece is branded with the bifurcated cross of the Order of St Stephen and the letter R can be seen nearby.



This bust portrait of the pre-adolescent Prince Cosimo III de' Medici is in an excellent state of preservation and still occupies its original gilded wood cassetta frame. Emerging in the foreground against a dark and seemingly impenetrable background, the figure dressed in polished armour draped with a lapis lazuli cloth, with the white collar and cuffs of a shirt standing out against it, is characterized by his gentle gaze and, above all, by the regular lineaments of his face that emphasize his straight nose, his large dark eyes set within a perfect orbital arch and his shapely and plump red lips, all enhanced by his ivory complexion with pinkish touches.

The work, which stands out as an interesting and pleasing addition to the catalogue of early portraits of Cosimo III de' Medici, seems to date to just before the mid-1650s, when the young prince must have been between twelve and thirteen. This is primarily apparent in the physical change that had taken place in him by the age of sixteen, as demonstrated by a canvas by Giusto Suttermans, documented in 1658 and currently in the Galleria Palatina in Florence (L. Goldenberg Stoppato, in *Un granduca* 2006, pp. 26–7, no. 1).

The typically Florentine stylistic features, the porcelain rendering of the flesh tones and the enamelled effect of the colours lead us to assign this work – attributed to an anonymous artist until now – to the catalogue of Lorenzo Lippi, one of the most interesting and original painters working in Florence in the mid-17th century. Although primarily known for his paintings of devout religious scenes and intriguing allegorical images, Lippi also distinguished himself as a portraitist, as particularly demonstrated by a series of paintings of members of the House of Habsburg during a visit to Innsbruck, documented between 1643 and 1644. As well as showing similarities to portraits such as *Clau- dia de' Medici as a Widow* now at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, this painting reveals a close resemblance in the rendering of the face of young Cosimo to various male portraits by Lippi. Indeed, the most striking analogies can be seen in the *Archangel Michael* in a private collection (for the works by Lippi, see D'Afflitto 2002, pp. 257–9, nos. 87, 89.

[SB]

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Selected bibliography
unpublished.



Francesco Petrucci (Florence, 1660–1719) and Andrea Scacciati (Florence, 1644–1710)

*Cosimo III de' Medici
in a Garland of Flowers*

oil on copper, 16 × 13 cm
Grassina (Florence), Collezione Alberto Bruschi

This delightful copper oval, datable to the first decade of the 18th century, features a slightly more than half bust portrait of Cosimo III de' Medici set within an elegant frame painted with flowers of different varieties and colours. Depicted with his face at a three-quarter angle, the sixth and penultimate Medici grand duke is portrayed in shiny metal armour with gold and red enamel finishes, complete with an elaborate jabot laced with mother-of-pearl colours and a lapis lazuli blue silk drape, almost as if to add a further touch of elegance. In addition to the figure, great emphasis is also placed on the melodious floral garland, primarily made up of snowy white boules de neige, soft flesh-coloured roses, speckled tulips with long flaming petals, double anemones in various colours and also small white narcissi, pink and red carnations and two-tone bindweed.

On the basis of a comparison with an engraving devoted to Cosimo III by Arnold von Wes-

terhout after a drawing by Francesco Petrucci (see M. Visonà, in Bellesi-Visonà 2008, II, p. 179, fig. 85b), this portrait in the oval can also be assigned to Petrucci, a little-known painter to date, who primarily produced drawings and copies of famous paintings that entered the grand-ducal galleries between the 17th and 18th centuries (regarding the artist, see Bellesi 2009, I, pp. 221–2). Although typological and stylistic features enable us to ascribe the portrait to Petrucci, the floral garland appears to be by the creative hand of Andrea Scacciati, a leading figure in Florentine still life painting during the late Baroque period alongside Bartolomeo Bimbi. As in the case of works more typical of Scacciati, we can see his particular way of interpreting the flowers, which are clearly defined with arched and serpentine stems and corollas in intense enamelled hues.

[SB]

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Selected bibliography
Bellei 2013, pp. 81–3.



Early 18th-century Florentine painter
(after Carlo Maratta)

*Cosimo III de' Medici in the Vestments
of a Canon of St Peter's*

oil on canvas, 36.2 × 23.4 cm
Grassina (Florence), Collezione Alberto Bruschi

Inscriptions: Two counterposed and intertwined letter Gs appear on the frame, surmounted by a crown and the numbers 1399, 1804, 351, 8084 and an illegible crossed-out number.



This work, which derives from a prototype attributed to Carlo Maratta in early 18th-century documents and replicated various times, features a full-figure portrait of Cosimo III de' Medici in the vestments of a canon of St Peter's. The figure occupies an architectural setting and we can glimpse the dome of the Vatican basilica in the background. Historical sources tell us that the portrait should be linked to the grand duke's visit to the eternal city in 1700, to mark the Jubilee year. In order to satisfy his religious fervour, after assuming the guise of an imaginary 'count from Pitigliano', Cosimo III arrived in Rome following a twenty-day journey and was welcomed by Innocent XII with all the honours owing to his real rank. The pope granted the grand duke's wish to venerate the relics of Christianity's best loved saints, traditionally placed under the protection of the canons of St Peter's, by endowing him with the same title. Thanks to this appointment, Cosimo III also had the possibility to display the sacred relics to the public and impart solemn blessings at the same time.

The painting, which comes from the Medici collections as indicated by the two intertwined Gs beneath a crown alluding to the grand-ducal *Guardaroba Generale*, differs from versions of the same composition known to us today, including one in the Galleria Palatina in Florence (S. Bellesi, in *Sacri Splendori* 2014, pp. 244–5, no. 64; with previous bibliography) and a small canvas in a private collection (S. Bellesi, in *Testimonianze Medicee* 1997, pp. 86–7, 133, fig. 36), due to the original and rather interesting variants primarily to be seen in the background formed by a black drape, which replaces a more traditional reddish purple one, and in the definition of the surplice, painted with rapid, heavy brushstrokes with less care taken in defining the lace. It is not possible to identify the work in any archive documents known to us at present. However, it can be ascribed to an unidentified Florentine painter active in the early 18th century.

[SB]

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Selected bibliography
Bruschi 2018, cover.



Giovacchino Fortini (Florence, 1670–1736)

*Cosimo III de' Medici,
Grand Duke of Tuscany*

Bronze with a dark patina, moulded edge,
ø 86 mm

Obv.: COSMVS · III · ETRVSCORVM · REX

Right-facing armoured bust, marked baldness with long remaining hair, ermine-lined cloak draped and knotted over the shoulder to emphasize the leonine mask on the armour and the top arm of the bifurcated cross of the Order of St Stephen on his chest, with a Florentine lily held between its tips. In the truncation:

G. FORTINI. 1720

Rev.: TRANQVILLITAS · PVBLICA ·

Three standing allegorical figures: Religion wrapped in a veil, with a Latin cross and a book. In her right hand, while in her left she holds up the flame of faith, opposite winged Virtue with a cornucopia and, in the centre, Power with the sceptre resting on a base.

Grassina (Florence), Collezione Alberto Bruschi



The date and signature add to the value of this medal by Giovacchino Fortini, one of the Medici court's favourite sculptors. Having trained under Giovan Battista Foggini, he was made court architect following the death of the latter in 1725. In his marble and medal portraits, the artist tends to explore the psychology of the figure with considerable technical expertise, as well as with a lively naturalness, despite taking nothing away from the due regality of the image. We should particularly note the two marble busts of Cosimo III and Gian Gastone. His main client among the last of the Medici family was Anna Maria Luisa, Electress of the Palatinate.

Cosimo III was born in 1642, the year of Galileo's death. After a disastrous period of government that lasted fifty-three years, he passed

away on All Hallows' Eve, 31 October 1723. No one mourned him. His life was dominated by unbridled sanctimony, due in part to the education he had received from his mother. Riguccio Galluzzi, in his detailed work *Istoria del Granducato di Toscana* (1781, p. 89), sums it up as follows: "It is therefore no wonder that Grand Duke Cosimo was considered the author of all the evils that afflicted Tuscany, and that he was accompanied to the grave by the execrations of all his subjects; the public hate for him extinguished all sense of grief... Italy despised him".

The rest was nothing. The grand-ducal Medici branch had hastened to its end.

[AB]

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Selected bibliography

Galluzzi 1781; Moreni 1827; Cantelli 1979; Johnson 1979; Langedijk 1981–7; Toderi–Vannel 1987; Toderi–Vannel Toderi 1993; S. Bellesi, in *Il viaggio a Compostela* 2004; *Inventario del Medagliere of the Museo Nazionale del Bargello*, Florence.

Antonio Selvi (Florence, 1679–1753)
Cosimo III de' Medici,
Sixth Grand Duke of Tuscany

Bronze with a dark patina, pale moulded edge,
 ø 86 mm (Medici Series of 1740)

Obv.: COSMVS · III · D · G · MAG · DVX · ETR · VI

Right-facing bust in ancient-style armour, draped ermine cloak, top part of the bifurcated cross of the Order of St Stephen on his chest, extensive baldness, long remaining hair.

Rev.: CERTA · FVLGENT · SIDERA ·

A boat with three masts on a rough sea, steered left and guided by five stars including one bigger one, which is the planet Jupiter with its four moons discovered by Gallileo in 1610 and named Medicea Sidera in honour of Cosimo II, the reigning grand duke at the time. In its entirety it forms the *impresa* of Cosimo III, the same one that also appears on the two medals made by Giocchino Francesco Travani in 1661 and 1666.

Grassina (Florence), Collezione Alberto Bruschi



Antonio Selvi found his way easily into the circle of artists at the grand-ducal court after the medallist and sculptor Massimiliano Soldani Benzi, at whose workshop he had completed his apprenticeship, was appointed Mint Master in Florence. Selvi was particularly prolific when it came to making medals and is best-known for his 'Medici Series', which portrayed the main members of the family from its origins onwards. His ability as a sculptor, sometimes muted by the interventions of his pupils, and his more pictorial interpretation of the medal have been highlighted by original models in pink wax on slate, now in a private collection.

[AB]

Selected bibliography

Galluzzi 1781; Moreni 1827; Cantelli 1979; Johnson 1979; Langedijk 1981–7; Toderi–Vannel 1987; Toderi–Vannel Toderi 1993; S. Bellesi, in *Il viaggio a Compostela* 2004; *Inventario del Medagliere of the Museo Nazionale del Bargello*, Florence.

*Vocabolario degli Accademici della
Crusca, in questa terza impressione
nuovamente corretto e copiosamente
accresciuto, al Serenissimo Cosimo III
Granduca di Toscana loro Signore*

Florence, Accademia della Crusca, 1691

3 volumes ([4], iii, [i], 13–374, [2] p.; [2], 925
[i. e. 921, 1] p.; [2], 927–1833, [1] p.);

24.5 × 35.5 cm

Entries: 36284 to which we should add 1721
entries in the *Giunte al Vocabolario degli
Accademici della Crusca*.

Accademia della Crusca: DIZ.110.III.1–3,
DIZ.110.III.1–3.bis, DIZ.110.III.1–3.ter;
ACC.CRUSCA.01.III.1–3.

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Selected bibliography

Vitale 1986; Marazzini 2009; Setti 2010;
Frosini 2014; *Una lingua e il suo Vocabolario*
2014; <www.accademiadellacrusca.it>
(Digital shelves > History and holdings of the
Library of the Accademia > Catalogo degli
Accademici; Scaffali digitali > La Lessicografia
della Crusca in rete).

The third edition (or ‘impression’ to use the old term) of the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* was published in Florence for the first time in 1691 at the ‘Stamperia dell’Accademia della Crusca’, after the previous two editions had been printed in Venice (in 1612 and 1623). The reasons for this were primarily financial. The Accademia was a private association, lacking in public or state backing, and so the academicians always had to calculate the costs very carefully. Ongoing work had been carried out on the edition published at the end of the century for a great many years (since at least 1650). This great commitment in terms of revisions, reworkings and additions, which reflects a practice typical of the academicians throughout their long history and their tireless lexicographical work, led to a consistent quantitative increase (apparent in the number of volumes, which went from just one to three, while maintaining the large *folio* format of the first editions), but above all to significant qualitative innovation.

There was therefore an increase in the number of terms listed in the *Vocabolario*; the examples linked to each entry increased and the definitions were corrected and made more specific. The third edition reveals a skilful balance between the continuity of the traditional approach, which had been established by Lionardo Salviati and had always inspired the work of the lexicographers, and an openness to the new.

In this sense:

- the solid nucleus formed by the heritage of the old language of 14th-century Tuscan origin was preserved (“The basis and foundation of this Dictionary”, as we read in the address *To the readers*), and was identified more accurately by means of the acronym “V(oce) A(ntica)” (Old-style Entry), providing clear information about which terms belonged to the traditional heritage;

- more room was made for words from modern authors (such as Della Casa, Guicciardini, Varchi, Caro), and Torquato Tasso was finally included, after his exclusion from the first editions had led to so much controversy and so many negative reactions;

- entries from the world of science, the arts and crafts, technology, and more generally, entries inspired by habitual use, were more widely included: “many of those habitually used by our people today are compiled in this dictionary, supported by the authority of a number of modern authors”. In greater detail, Cardinal Leopoldo de’ Medici, an academician since 1641 and protector of the Accademia, collected lists of words from architectural, military and nautical terminology through painstaking research, drawing upon his rich store of artisanal knowledge.

Many important figures contributed to the third edition, including Alessandro Segni, the young Anton Maria Salvini, and above all important humanists and scientists, such as Fran-

cesco Redi, a doctor and writer (academician from 1655, arch-consul [we would now say 'president'] from 1678 to 1690), and Lorenzo Magalotti, a physicist and scholar (academician from 1656, academic name: Sollevato). Thanks primarily to them, the new Crusca edition focused heavily on the language of science, introducing Galileo among others to the selection of modern authors explored in order to find new entries for the *Vocabolario*. The great Florentine season of literary and scientific culture is therefore reflected in the Accademia's admirable lexicographical achievement, which had significantly and decisively opened up to new horizons of knowledge.

The consideration of modern language and its usage, the inclusion of scientific and technical terms, which actually – and also over and beyond appearances and controversies – had always been known to the academicians, found their first great realization in the third impression of the *Vocabolario*, which precluded the 18th-century masterpiece of the fourth edition.

The *Vocabolario* of 1691 contains a dedicatory letter from the academicians, signed by Alessandro Segni, to Grand Duke Cosimo III ("To the Most Serene Cosimo III Grand Duke of Tuscany their Lord"), who was also an academician from 1661. Meanwhile, another member, Filippo Corsini, a diplomat and state advisor, as well as arch-consul from 1697–8 (academic name: Chiaro), wrote the journal of Cosimo's travels to the Netherlands, currently to be found among the manuscripts in the Fondo Principale at the Biblioteca della Crusca (MS 5). Furthermore, the academicians also included (from 1652) the Dutch scholar and diplomat Nicolaas Heinsius, Cosimo III's travel companion during his visit to the Netherlands, in keeping with an established tradition that saw numerous foreign scholars in the academic roles.

[GF]



Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca, Florence, 1691, title page.

ABBREVIATIONS

ASCF = Florence, Archivio Storico del Comune di Firenze
 ASFi = Florence, Archivio di Stato di Firenze
 ASG = Florence, Archivio Soprintendenza Gallerie di Firenze
 BNCF = Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze

Atlas of Mutual Heritage = <<http://www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/en/>>
Gallica = <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/accueil/fr/content/accueil-fr?mode=desktop>>

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